
NOTE ON A TOUR IN BURMA IN MARCH AND APRIL 1892,

BY

F. O. OERTEL, A.R.I.B.A., F.S.A., SCOT., ASSISTANT ENGINEER ON
SPECIAL DUTY, P.W.D., N. W. P. AND OUDH.

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IN the cold season of 1891-92 the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh deputed me to go on a tour in India for the purpose of making architectural and archæological studies.

As I had first to visit a number of places in Northern and Central India it was unfortunately rather late in the season before I could start from Calcutta for Burma; a circumstance which not only obliged me to curtail and hurry my tour there, but also occasionally prevented me from making full use of my time.

I had not been in Burma before and was greatly struck with the picturesque scene on the Rangoon river as we steamed up on the morning of the 9th of March 1892. The quaint-looking Chinese junks and graceful Burmese river-boats with their vast expanse of light sail and high ornamented stern—the light bamboo huts on the banks, and occasional monastery with its gabled roofs and pinnacles—here and there the graceful spire of a white Pagoda glistening in the sun—the Syriam Pagoda conspicuous on the right and the magnificent Golden Pagoda of Rangoon rising before us in gorgeous splendour—all combined to make up a picture not to be easily forgotten.

In Rangoon Mr. Taw Sein Ko, now the Burmese teacher at Cambridge and then employed on special archæological duty, kindly assisted me in drawing up a list of the places containing the most characteristic indigenous Burmese architecture. I decided to visit as many places as possible in Burma proper and the ancient Talaing kingdom of Pegu, as these two countries have always been closely connected in their architectural and religious history.

Arakan I had to exclude from my list as its exploration would have taken up too much time. The late Dr. Forchhammer has, moreover, already thoroughly explored this part of the country and reported upon it.

My object was to study the characteristics of indigenous Burmese architecture, and to trace to some extent its relation to the ancient Indian styles with which I was familiar. With this object in view I visited the following places. Starting from Rangoon I went to Upper Burma, beginning with Mandalay, Amarapura and Sagaing, and proceeding from there down the Irrawaddy to Pagan and Prome and then back to Rangoon. After this I made a tour in the Talaing country, including the late capital of Pegu, and Syriam, as well as Moulmein, Martaban, Thatôn and some of the cave temples in the neighbourhood of Moulmein. I took but few notes at the time of visiting these places as I was not required to furnish a special report of my Burma tour. I am therefore obliged to write this memorandum almost entirely from memory.

I may repeat here that I am only concerned now with *indigenous* Burmese architecture, and not with the many fine buildings in European style which have sprung up in the country since our occupation of it.

Burma has practically no buildings of any importance, antiquity or architectural pretensions, which are not connected with the religion of the country. The only notable exception to this is the Royal Palace at Mandalay. Of Burmese domestic architecture there is very little to say. This is no doubt due to the sumptuary laws which in Burma have from ancient times restricted the use of all durable building materials such as brick and stone masonry, and all architectural adornments to religious and royal edifices. The people live now, as they probably always did, in single-storeyed huts, raised a few feet above the ground and constructed of bamboo frame work with split bamboo floors and mat partitions. A rough fence generally surrounds the house enclosing a small court-yard. The richer people use teak posts and boarded partitions instead of bamboo.

The roof is thatched, tiled or in some cases covered with wooden shingles. Under such circumstances there was of course no scope for any architectural elaboration.

There are three distinct types of buildings in Burma which may be classed as follows :—

- I.—Solid pagodas or *topes* enshrining relics, such as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon.
- II.—Ornamented wooden monasteries (*póngyi kyaungs*), including the Royal Palace at Mandalay, rest-houses (*zayats*), wooden shrines (*tazaungs*), &c.
- III.—Masonry temples, such as the “Ananda” and others, peculiar to Pagān and other old sites in Upper Burma.

I.—Pagodas.

Of these three classes the first is the most interesting both from the number and importance of the buildings belonging to it, as from the fact that it includes the major part of the most ancient remains in Burma. As we shall see further on it is in most cases impossible to ascertain the exact age of these buildings, although it is possible that structures of this class were erected in Further India as far back as King Asoka's time, namely, the middle of the 3rd century B.C., as he is said to have sent missionaries to Thatón and is known to have been a very keen builder. We cannot, however, expect to find any remains of an earlier date, for even in India nothing has yet been discovered which can be placed further back with any degree of certainty.

Burma is *par excellence* the country of pagodas : they are found everywhere and are still being erected from one end of the country to the other of all sizes, varying from a few feet in elevation to the colossal dimensions of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon which rises to the noble height of about 370 feet. Their super-abundance gives one an idea of the strong hold which Buddhism has on the country. There is hardly an eminence which is not crowned with one or more of these shrines bright with whitewash and gilding. They give in fact quite a character and peculiar charm to the country occupying as they do the most striking and picturesque positions. Coming down the Irrawaddy with its delightful scenery and pagoda-studded hills lining the banks one cannot help recalling visions of the Rhine with its ancient castles : but while these last are sombre and frowning the pagodas of the Irrawaddy are gay and bright,—true creations of the sunny East.

The word “pagoda” is probably a corruption of the Sinhalese “dagaba” which is derived from the two Sanskrit words *dhátu*, a relic, and *garbha*, a womb or shrine. It denotes the same class of buildings as are known in India as *topes* or *stūpas*, namely, relic shrines or solid masonry piles raised over relics of Gautama or some Buddhist saint. The word is in some instances misapplied to buildings not properly belonging to this class, *e.g.*, the Arakan *Pagoda* in Mandalay which contains the sacred Mahamuni image and should, therefore, be more appropriately styled a *temple*. Again, the so-called Incomparable (*Atūmashī*) *Pagoda* at Mandalay is not really a pagoda but a monastery or *kyaung*. In these memoranda I shall strictly confine the term “pagoda” to the solid masonry *stūpas* (such as the Golden Pagoda, Rangoon) known as *zedis* by the Burmese.

General Fytche arranges the pagodas into four classes* :—

- (1) *Dattaw-zedis*, or those containing supposed relics of a Buddha or Rahanda.
- (2) *Paribauga-zedis*, or those containing supposed implements or garments which have belonged to Buddhas or sacred personages.
- (3) *Dhamma-zedis*, or those containing books or texts.

* See foot-note, page 165, Volume II of “Burma. Past and Present.”

† “Before attaining to the state of a Buddha Gautama passed through 550 different phases of existence, the history of which is contained in the Jātakas, and, as Dr. Forchhammer has pointed out, the relics of Gautama are not necessarily those of his last human existence, but may be remnants of the many stages of animal life he had previously passed through. Thus the many bovine tooth-relics, ascribed to him, are accounted for by his having been four times born as an ox or bull. The same applies to many other relics both in India and Burma; later generations forgetting the original nature of the sacred remnants and the tradition connected with them pronounced them to be relics of the body of Buddha in which he lived out his last existence.”

(4) *Udeksa-zedis*, or those built from motives of piety and containing statues of Buddha or models of sacred buildings.

The last two classes are by far the most numerous, as the erection of one of these shrines is accounted a work of the greatest possible merit, the pious builder gaining for himself the coveted title of a *payātagā*, and with it the assurance of future bliss and the approbation of his neighbours.

Most of the Burmese pagodas are constructed of brickwork covered with stucco, though stone is also used, as in the case of the ancient laterite pagodas of Thatôn, but this is very rare, especially in modern examples. The outside is usually whitewashed, and in the case of the richer pagodas gilt, either the whole or only the spire. Gilding is quite a passion with the Burmese. Their most sacred pagodas, images, and *pōngyi kyaungs* are all richly gilt. The worshippers at the shrines are for ever plastering new gold leaf over the old, until some of the more sacred images are thickly coated with it much to the detriment of their features.

It is interesting to note how pagodas gradually grew in size from a humble relic shrine to such noble monuments as, e.g., the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda in Rangoon; for what we now see is by no means the original structure, but merely an outer shell of comparatively recent date, being the last of a number of pagodas, one built over the other. Probably the first pagoda, enshrining the original relics, was quite a humble structure of small dimensions and of a very different shape from the one we see now. A new and larger pagoda was erected over this, encasing the first, and the process repeated from time to time as long as pious persons came forward to meet the expense in order to do further honour to the sacred relics. At each new addition more relics and treasure were usually deposited, and no doubt changes took place in the style of the buildings as time went on.

The great Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon, the *Mahāwanso*, give a detailed description of the gradual erection of the great Dagaba at Bintenne, near Kandy in Ceylon, which illustrates the way in which all these great shrines have risen*—

“The chief of the Devos, Sumano, supplicated of the deity worthy of offerings for an offering. The Vanquisher, passing his hand over his head, bestowed on him a handful of his pure blue locks from the growing hair of the head. Receiving and depositing it in a superb golden casket, on the spot where the divine teacher had stood, he enshrined the lock in an emerald dagaba and bowed down in worship. The hero Sarabhu at the demise of the Supreme Buddha, receiving at his funeral pile the thorax bone, brought and deposited it in that identical dagaba. This inspired personage caused a dagaba to be erected 12 cubits high to enshrine it and thereon departed. The younger brother of King Devenampati (B. C. 259) having discovered this marvellous dagaba, constructed another encasing it, 30 cubits in height. King Duttagamini (B. C. 161) while residing there during his subjugation of the Malabars, constructed a dagaba encasing that one 80 cubits in height,” thus completing the Mahiyangana Dagaba.

It is this peculiar method of construction which makes it so difficult to study the development of pagoda-building in Burma and to determine the original dates of erection of these monuments, for the oldest and most interesting remains are all hidden from view. It is only by breaking into the pagodas that we could really find out anything about them. This is of course impossible in the case of those which are still revered and tended by the people. But there are some ancient pagodas in out-of-the-way places which are quite neglected and where there would be no objection to exploration. At Pagân especially there is a great field for scientific investigation in this respect, and there can be no doubt that this would settle many obscure and disputed points in the ancient history of Burma.

The modern Burmese pagoda is unquestionably the direct lineal descendant of the ancient Indian Buddhist stûpas and through them of the sepulchral tumuli of the Indo-Chinese or Turanian races, although it now bears no resemblance to the low round mounds from which it originally sprang. We have, however, in India and Ceylon a fairly complete series of topes and dagabas, dating from the 3rd century B.C. to about the time when Burmese architecture may be said to begin with rise of Pagân in the 9th century A.D. The chain is continued in

* From Fergusson's Indian Architecture, page 58.

Burma up to the present day and we can therefore follow the evolution of the pagoda through the immense period of over 2,000 years.

A few of the older forms of pagodas are given in Photographs Nos. 16, 20, 21 and 32, which unmistakably show their Indian origin, and in fact would hardly cause any surprise if met with in India. It will be seen that these older forms are much more massive and simple in outline. As time went on they became more elaborate and slender, so much so that one can generally fairly accurately judge of the modernness of a pagoda by the degree of attenuation it has attained. The modern pagodas are all so alike in general appearance that one description will nearly suffice for all. A few well known examples are represented in Photographs Nos. 6, 28 and 33. As will be seen they exhibit quaint slender conical piles, the chief peculiarity of which is the *inward* curvature of the contour on both sides. This form is opposed to the ordinarily accepted principles of European *osthetics* and makes the structures look very weak. The Greeks, our great masters in architecture, were especially careful to avoid anything like an inward curve, so much so that even the lines which they intended to look straight, as, *e.g.*, the outlines of their columns and the horizontal lines of the entablature, were always given a slight outward bulge, though not generally perceptible to the eye.

A comparison of a few of the accompanying photographs will, I think, make my meaning clear. The Sulè Pagoda, in Rangoon, Photograph No. 6, may be taken as an example of the weak contour, so characteristic of the modern pagoda. This will be at once apparent when it is compared with the simpler ancient form of the Kaunghmûdaw Pagoda, near Sagaing, No. 16, so massive and powerful. It may be urged that the modern pagoda has gained in elegance what it has lost in grandeur; but the loss seems greater than the gain, and the result of all the excessive refining and elaborating is scarcely an improvement. In fact, I fear, that the Burma pagoda style is well advanced on the downward path of decline and is doomed to die a natural death, a fate which even architectural styles in common with all things cannot escape. Probably the superior fascinations of European art will prove too much for it and hasten its decay. In all parts of the world this has been the case and Italian art is everywhere supplanting the indigenous styles with which it has been brought into contact. Signs are not wanting to show that Burma will probably not escape this fate. An Italian arcade is shown in Photograph No. 27 forming the front of a shrine in the sacred precincts of the Shwemawdaw Pagoda in Pegu; while cast iron columns, probably from Macfarlane's Foundry in Glasgow, support the roof of the *tazaung* in Photograph No. 35.

Although the Burmese pagodas do not immediately take one's fancy, still it must be confessed that they grow upon one as the eye becomes more accustomed to their peculiar shape. It is not long before one learns to appreciate their refined grace and owns to a charm which is no doubt partly due to the clear sky and bright surroundings. Moreover, they do not all exhibit that weak contour which I take to be a mark of very modern date; the Shwezigòn Pagoda, near Pagân, for instance, Photograph No. 19, appears to me a much more substantial-looking and pleasing form. It would be very interesting to ascertain the exact date when all these pagodas assumed their present shape. As already stated it is almost impossible to discover the date of first erection of the ancient pagodas, but the time of the last addition to the pile should not be difficult to determine and would be valuable, as something definite to go upon. This should, I think, be made a special point of enquiry in the official statistics which, I believe, are now being collected about these buildings.

All the larger pagodas stand on a wide open platform on which various objects and a number of buildings and sheds of different kinds are erected round the main structure, such as smaller pagodas, shrines or *tazaung-pyathats*, crowded with images of Buddha rest-houses or *zayats* for the convenience of worshippers, altars for lights, incense and flowers, bells of all sizes, flagstaffs carrying metalwork crowns or *tis*, sacred birds and *nats*, drinking water stands or *yeozins*, and so forth. All these numerous articles are placed there by pious donors who hope to gain merit (*kutho*) by doing so. On the four sides of the pagoda, facing the cardinal

points, porchlike image shrines are usually erected. The entrances are generally guarded by a couple of large grotesque lions, while the parapets, flanking the steps, are sometimes formed into the image of dragons with scaly bodies and tails.

The pagoda itself can be usually divided into four distinct portions, all of which have their counterparts in the ancient Indian stūpa, from which they sprang, namely :—

- 1.—*A square masonry terrace*, on which are generally placed a ring of small pagodas surrounding the main one and taking the place of the ancient Buddhist rail. Steps ordinarily lead up to this terrace on the four sides. At the corners are frequently found the strange winged human-headed lions with double bodies, known as *manussiha* or "man lion" and recalling the ancient Assyrian winged lions. At Pegu there are two such terraces with a double ring of miniature pagodas.
- 2.—*A high plinth* of a boldly-moulded stepped contour, and generally of elaborate polygonal form in plan, reminding one of the outlines of Hindu temples.
- 3.—*The bell-shaped body* of the pagoda, divided into two portions by an ornamental band.
- 4.—*The spire*, consisting of a number of rings ; a lotus leaf band with a bead moulding in the centre and leaves above and below, pointing in opposite directions ; a terminal carrot-shaped cone surmounted by the gilt metal work crown or *tî*, indicating the sanctity of the building. The *tî* or *umbrella* is made of pierced ironwork, generally of beautiful design and richly gilt. It consists of several rings rising in diminishing stages and finished off with a long iron rod, the appearance being something like the Pope's tiara or triple crown. Small bells are usually hung to these rings which tinkle sweetly with every movement of the air.

The portions 3 and 4 above are no doubt the modern representatives of the hemispherical body and masonry *tî* of the ancient stūpa. They are generally circular in form, an exception being the Sulè Pagoda, Rangoon, which is octagonal throughout.

II.—Monasteries or Pongyi Kyaungs.

Next to the pagodas the monasteries or *póngyi kyaungs* are the most numerous and characteristic buildings in Burma. Being, however, entirely constructed of woodwork they are neither of any antiquity nor of special architectural value, for the material does not admit of the solidity and grandeur so essential to the higher class of architectural effect. Moreover, the Burmese have fallen into the error of excessive and extravagant ornamentation, a fault which the use of a substance so easily carved would naturally lead them into. The result is that these buildings, though sometimes very pretty, are entirely lacking in dignity and repose, and leave a confused and unsatisfactory impression on the mind. One of the finest *póngyi kyaungs* is that of Queen Supyalat at Mandalay, properly called the Myâdaung kyaung, shown in Photograph No. 12, which exhibits all the beauties as well as defects of the style. The light pavilions with their profusion of gabled roofs and the graceful spire rising in diminishing stages make a very pleasing group of most picturesque outline, though somewhat bewildering to the eye from the wealth of ornamentation lavished on gables, ridges, eaves, finials and balustrade.

The *póngyi kyaungs* are generally erected for the sake of quietude at a little distance from the lay buildings and if possible in the shade of a clump of trees. Every village has its little monastery while the neighbourhood of the larger cities is crowded with them. The finest specimens were at Mandalay, but unfortunately many of them have been destroyed during the great fire which took place there at the end of last March, a few days after I had left the place. They are never very large being only intended to accommodate three or four monks or *póngyis* with their superior or *saya*, besides a few novices and lay scholars. But several of these

establishments are frequently placed in the same enclosure together with subsidiary buildings, such as galleries for walking exercise, shrines or *tazaungs*, rest-houses or *zayats*, ordination halls or *theins*, canopied wells and drinking stands (*yeozins*).

As the Photograph No. 12 shows, each *póngyi kyaung* consists of several wooden pavilions connected together and standing on an oblong, wooden platform raised on teak posts some 8 or 10 feet above the ground, with a gallery and balustrade all round. A few flights of steps leading up to this platform and a low wall surrounding the whole form the only brickwork about the building, the rest is all of teakwood. Huge posts made of entire trees support the roof dividing the rooms into a centre portion with an aisle all round, the ceiling of the centre being higher and flat while the surrounding aisles have a sloping ceiling at a lower level. The floors and roofs are boarded and the walls, partitions, and ceilings panelled.

Most *póngyi kyaungs* are erected on a uniform plan with only four rooms, one containing a seated image of Buddha (see Photograph No. 15), another reserved as a state room for the superior, a general living room for the *póngyis* and a school-room. Though outwardly presenting the appearance of several storeys they are in reality never more than one storey high, as the Burman strongly objects to have anybody's feet over his head. The open pillared hall underneath is for this reason, never utilized, except as a playground by the school-boys who have not yet arrived at any notions of personal dignity.

The most characteristic feature of the *póngyi kyaung* is the *pyathat* or many-storeyed spire which, like the umbrella, was a mark of great distinction and religious sanctity. The *pyathat* has either 3, 5 or 7 roofs according to the dignity of the building to which it is attached. It was only used for Royal Palaces and monasteries, and occasionally, though rarely, in the private residences of a few of the highest officials by special permission of the King. At one time the sumptuary laws in Burma determined for everybody what sort of house to live in, what to wear, and what furniture to have, as also whether an umbrella of a certain colour or a *pyathat* of a fixed number of roofs could be used.

In addition to the carved ornaments the wooden buildings are frequently richly covered inside and out with red paint, lacquer and gilding, as well as with tinsel work and a sort of coloured glass mosaic reminding one of the Indian *shish* or mirror-work to be seen in the Shishmahals of Agra and Lahore. This gives them an appearance of barbaric splendour which, however, even at its best, must have looked tawdry to the European eye.

The wood carving which covers the buildings in such profusion is generally of superior execution and finish, and the figure carving of *nats*, *bilus* and human beings often very successful, in good proportion and full of spirit and action. I may instance the group of figures surrounding the balustrade of the monastery near the court-house at Pagân, representing scenes from domestic life and the remarkable figures of the "four visions" of Buddha from the South Pagoda at Moulmein, shown in my Photograph No. 34.

Photograph No. 26 is interesting as exhibiting the unornamented structure of a wooden *tazaung* with *pyathat*. In the finished buildings it is ordinarily difficult to trace the structural features owing to the superabundance of ornamentation. In Photograph No. 7 is a brickwork *tazaung pyathat*, in which the wooden forms above described are imitated in elaborate stucco. How faithful a copy it is can be seen by comparing it with the wooden *pyathat* shown in the same view in the back ground. This class of brick buildings is not uncommon, and I need hardly say that it shows a great want of artistic taste to use the forms suitable to one material in another to which they are absolutely unsuited. The slightest touch will break off the elaborate plaster ornamentation and the building will soon be in a very dilapidated condition. Views of the Royal Palace at Mandalay and of a rest-house or *zayat* are given in Photographs Nos. 13 and 17 which exhibit exactly the same style. This Burmese monastery style so strongly resembles that of the wooden temples of Nepal that there can be little doubt of their having a common origin, and it is very probable that the general form and the character of some of the ornamentation is derived from Tibet; but we know so little of the buildings of that country that it is impossible to speak with certainty.

Although all the monastic buildings in Burma are, as I have pointed out above, necessarily modern in date still they are interesting, as they have probably carried on to some extent at least the traditional forms of the ancient wooden architecture which preceded the stone buildings of India, Assyria, and other countries, and should help us to realize the descriptions of the temple of Solomon built of the cedars of Lebanon and the ancient wooden palaces of Nineveh

III.—Masonry Temples of Pagan.

In this class are included the large square brick temples, such as the *Ananda*, the *Thapinya*, the *Gaudapalin* and many more, peculiar to Pagan, the characteristics of which have been so fully described by Colonel Yule in his "Mission to Ava in 1855." They were constructed to contain large images of Buddha and rise up in gradually diminishing terraces finished off on top with a bulging spire, exactly like the *sikras* of Hindu or Jaina temples in Northern India. They are mostly large structures, some of which attain a height of nearly 200 feet. The *Thapinya* has only one cell in the centre of the building right under the *sikra*, while the *Ananda* has four, with large standing images of the four Buddhas of the present world-cycle or *kalpa*, facing the cardinal points.

Pagan was the capital of Burma from the middle of the 9th to the end of the 13th century A.D., and all the great religious buildings there were, according to Phayre,* erected between the years A.D. 1057 and 1227. The square temples of Pagan are almost unique in their way and are found scarcely anywhere else. We know nothing of the original source from which their general design was derived, though some of the details are traceable to India and Ceylon. The bulging spire or *sikra* is apparently derived from Northern India and probably from Behar or Magadhadesa, which we know to have been in communication with Burma at that time.

Temples, in the strict sense of the word, seem to have been rare in Buddhist countries, at least in earlier times. The only Buddhist structure of this kind still extant in India is the celebrated temple at Buddha Gaya, believed to be erected about A.D. 500 and a copy of which is to be found at Pagan, see Photograph No. 24. The adoration of images of Buddha does not appear to have been part of the original ceremonial, if we may judge from the fact that no representations of Buddha are found on the earliest extant Buddhist sculptures. It is very probable that the general use of images and the subsequent erection of temples was not introduced till some time after the Christian era. At present, however, Burma abounds with images of Gautama† and Mandalay is a great place for their manufacture. They are ordinarily made of brass, alabaster and wood; or, in the case of the larger ones, of brick and plaster. The brass images are cast in one piece on top of a clay core moulded to the shape of the image. This core is covered first with a layer of bees-wax of the intended thickness of the metal and over this again comes a thick outer layer of clay mixed with chopped straw. The molten metal is then poured in through a series of holes taking the place of the bees-wax which it melts and which is allowed to flow out at the bottom.

There are three kinds of Gautama images in Burma, of which the first is by far the most numerous, namely:—

(1) *Seated images*, called by the Burmese *tinbingni*, in which Gautama is represented sitting cross-legged with left hand open on his lap and the right hand resting on his right knee and pointing downwards, see Photograph No. 15. This is the conventional attitude of Gautama sitting in meditation under the Bodhi-tree (*ficus religiosa*), when he attained to Buddhahood or supreme wisdom. The original of this class of images is probably the one which once stood in the temple at Buddha Gaya, a temple erected near the very *pipal* tree under which Buddha is said to have received his divine enlightenment. The oldest and most

* See Phayre's History, page 51.

† "The word Buddha, meaning the Enlightened, is not properly speaking a name but a title, like Christ the Anointed, or Mahomed the Praised. Gautama is the name by which the last Buddha is usually known to the Southern Buddhists of Burma, Ceylon, Siam and Anam, and Saky-Muni, the Saky Sage, is the name by which he is known to the Northern Buddhists of China, Japan, Tibet and Nepaul." See foot-note, page 2.

sacred of this class of images in Burma is the Mahâmuni image in the Arakan temple near Mandalay, which is said to have been cast under Buddha's personal supervision.

- (2) *Standing images*, called *mayattaw*, representing Buddha in the attitude of teaching, with the right hand raised; to which class the huge images in the Ananda temple belong. This class of images is far less common.
- (3) *Recumbent images*, known as *shinbinthâyaung*, of the conventional attitude of Buddha at his death, when he attained to the blissful state of *nirvana* or *nekban*. In these images Gautama is shown resting on his right side, the head supported on the right hand, while the left arm is lying at full length on his left leg, which is crossed over the right leg. An example of this is the colossal figure, 181 feet long, near Pegu, represented in Photograph No. 29. These images are also far from common.

These are the only types of the modern figures of Gautama found in Burma, and the conventional attitude of these images never varies. The face is usually well-formed, of a calm and dignified expression, especially in the older images; the quite modern ones have not unfrequently a disagreeable simpering cast of features. The lobes of the ears are long, reaching down to the shoulders in the modern specimens. The hair is tied in a knot on top of the head and represented in peculiar little curls or points all close together, and somewhat resembling the rough exterior of a jack-fruit. The images are of all sizes from a few inches high to the colossal dimensions of the brick-figures at Pegu and elsewhere, the standing and seated images reaching a height of about 90 feet, while the colossal recumbent image, just referred to, is actually double that in length. From the curly hair and thick lips of the ordinary type of images it has been conjectured by some that Gautama Buddha must have been of African extraction, but this is by no means borne out by some of the earlier Buddhist images in India, as, e.g., some of the Gaudhara sculptures, at present in the Lahore Museum, the classic features of which have neither thick lips nor curly hair.

Near Mandalay there is a large image-temple, to which I have already referred as the Arakan temple, containing the famous Mahâmuni image, which was carried off from Arakan by King Bodawpayâ in A.D. 1784. The present temple is of the wooden monastery type and need not, therefore, have been mentioned here. It is, however, intended to replace it by a more substantial brick building of a similar style to the old Pagân temples. Large sums of money have already been collected for this purpose and two designs are on exhibition at the temple, one of which has been selected by the trustees. The design is pleasing, but has, as far as I remember, unfortunately a lower arcade in a sort of debased Italian style. As this temple is to contain the most sacred image in Burma, and a large sum of money is to be spent on it, it would be most desirable, if the trustees could be induced to adhere throughout to their own national style of architecture, as found in the Ananda and similar temples at Pagân. They would do well, if they sent their architect to study the details of this style on the spot.

I will now proceed to give a few notes of particular places and buildings visited on my tour.

RANGOON.

This town was previously known as Dagôn in Talaing history. The present port was founded by Alompra in A. D. 1755, who repaired the Shwe Da-gôn Pagoda and named the place Rangoon (*End-of-the-war*) to commemorate his subjugation of the Talaings. But it was a small town until it was occupied by the British in 1852, who raised it to its present commercial importance.

The most ancient and magnificent building in Rangoon is the *Shwe Dagôn* Pagoda, a distant view of which is given in Photograph No. 1. This is the most revered of all the Buddhist shrines in the Further East, its peculiar sanctity arising from the tradition of its containing relics of all the four Buddhas who have appeared in our present *kalpa*, namely, the staff of Kakasanpa, the water-dipper of Konagamana, the bathing-garment of Kasyapa, and eight hairs from the head

of Gautama. The age of the pagoda is unknown. It is fabled to have been erected during the lifetime of Buddha or about 500 B. C., but this is impossible. It is, however, pretty certain that it assumed its present form during the repairs by Sinbyuyin about 1775. A view of the south entrance, the most important,* with the long flight of steps leading up the hill, on which the pagoda stands, is shown in Photograph No. 2. A couple of enormous brick lion images, over 30 feet high, guard the approach, behind which are two seated *bilus* or demons, and behind these again two small niche-shrines with standing images of Buddha. The gate has a semi-circular arch, with the royal signs of the sun (a peacock) and the moon (a hare) in the spandrels, and surrounded by a stucco representation of the blissful seats of the *nats* on Mount Meru. The long ascent of worn steps is covered in by a pillared wooden gallery with a high central passage and two narrower side aisles, in which pagoda slaves and others expose various articles for sale intended for offerings at the shrine, such as sweetmeats, fruit, flowers, wax-candles, gold-leaf, inscribed paper flags, earthern-oil lamps, incense and scented wood. These pagoda slaves, or *payâ-kywon*, belong to a peculiar class of outcasts in Burma, who are the regular servitors at the pagodas, and receive all the food offerings. They are the descendants of criminals and captives of war who have been dedicated by the King to the service of the pagoda in perpetuity, and are held in very low estimation by the people. No priests are ever in attendance upon a pagoda, which is entirely in the care and under the management of the elders of the town, forming a committee of trustees consisting, in the case of the Shwe Dagon pagoda, of six leading citizens of Rangoon. The income of this shrine during the year 1891, derived from money gifts and the sale of valuable offerings, amounted to something over Rs. 52,000. It is curious to note that the caretakers or *chaukidars*, appointed by the trustees, are all Hindus from India and not Burmans, the reason being probably that the pagoda slaves cannot be trusted and Burmans will not take pagoda service.

The stairs lead on to a large paved platform 160 feet above the surrounding country and 900 feet long by 680 feet wide. In the centre of this, from a high masonry terrace, rises the sacred pile to the noble height of nearly 370 feet, richly gilt from top to bottom. A multitude of miniature pagodas encircle it, and it is surmounted by a richly jewelled, gilt metal *ti* of priceless value which was presented in 1871 by King Mindon. Each ring of the *ti* is hung with numerous jewelled bells of silver and gold. A mass of images of all varieties, in brass, wood, alabaster, and brickwork, dimmed with the smoke of countless wax-lights and candles, are crowded together in the four chapels at the base of pagoda. Brick lions and *manussihas* keep guard at the foot of the pile, facing which are a multitude of stone altars and alms bowls, supported on elephants and kneeling figures of worshippers. The outer edge of the paved court is crowded with a host of pagodas of all sizes, image houses of wood and brickwork, sacred flagstaffs, rest-houses, and library and treasury buildings. Interspersed between them are numerous bells suspended to sturdy cross beams. The finest among these is the Mahaganda, erected under a wooden shed on the eastern side of the court-yard, and shown in Photograph No. 3. It was presented by King Tharawadi and weighs 42 tons. It is 14 feet high and $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet across the rim. The Burmese have a remarkable love of bells and gongs, and are very clever at casting them, the smaller bells, in particular, being frequently very artistic in design. There is a monster bell at Mingun, 9 miles above Mandalay on the right bank of the river, cast in 1796 and 90 tons in weight, which is said to be the largest in the world with exception of the great bell at Moscow. It will be seen from the photograph referred to, that the Burmese bells are slightly different from the usual European shape, as they do not widen out as much at the rim. They have moreover no tongue, but are struck on the outside of the rim with a stag-horn or wooden club, several of which lie always ready for use near the bell.

The next photograph, No. 4, exhibits a very interesting group of *nat* and *bilu* figures surrounding the base of a flagstaff or *tagôndaing*. These sacred poles are commonly found near pagodas and carry images of sacred birds, *devas*,

* The main entrance is generally on the east side.

and *tis* or umbrellas. Two very fine specimens of these *tis* or metal umbrellas are shown in Photograph No. 5. These were presented by Shān worshippers, and are of gilt iron screen-work of very beautiful design.

Another remarkable pagoda at Rangoon is the *Sulè Pagoda*, Photograph No. 6, which is much smaller than the Shwe Dagōn, but is interesting as being octagonal in shape, instead of round, which is very unusual. It is said to be as old as the Shwe Dagōn Pagoda, but its present form is quite recent date, as may be judged from the very slender outline.

With the exception of these two pagodas, there is little of architectural and archæological value in Rangoon. I have given photographs of a few bas reliefs and terra-cotta panels at the Phayre Museum, see Photographs Nos. 9, 10 and 11. These represent almost all there is in the museum of Burmese art and antiquity, which is greatly to be regretted, as it would be easy to make very valuable collections, and many of the most precious antiquities are fast being lost or removed from the country. All the district officials should, I think, be strongly encouraged to send portable objects of interest to the museum, such as inscriptions, old manuscripts, ancient sculptures and terra cottas, as well as other articles illustrative of the history and arts of the various races in Burma and the adjoining countries. I would strongly urge that such measures be taken without delay, for it is a matter of common knowledge that all sorts of most valuable antiquities are sent out of the country every day and find their way into drawing-rooms and ladies' boudoirs where their value for scientific purposes is entirely lost. The present accommodation in the Phayre Museum appears, however, to be very limited and it will no doubt be found necessary to add to it if it is to serve a useful purpose. As the chief city of the only Indo-Chinese country under British rule Rangoon should have a particularly good museum. Care must, however, be taken that all the objects in it are properly marked with the exact locality they come from and such other information as may be known about them. Without this they are practically useless. This has unfortunately not been done in the case of many of the archæological exhibits in the museum and it will now be difficult if not impossible to obtain this information. It is not known for instance where the interesting figure panels in Photographs Nos. 9 and 10 come from, and some specimens of Gandhara sculptures, which have been no doubt received from the Lahore Museum, are also unmarked and might be Burmese for all one can tell. Wherever possible the name of the locality should be at once marked on the specimens before they are sent into the museum so that they cannot be mixed up afterwards.

A few days after landing in Rangoon I witnessed a very curious ceremony, namely, a *póngyi byan*, or the cremation of a *rahan* (lit. perfect) or senior monk who stood in repute of great learning and sanctity. The body had been kept embalmed at the monastery for nearly a year, while money was being collected to meet the expenses of a suitable funeral. The occasion was made one of great rejoicing, for had not the saintly man gained the reward of a spotless life and entered upon *nirvana*, an existence of eternal bliss? The preparations had been going on for some days and multitudes had collected from all parts in their holiday attire, bright with the gayest colours, to witness the goodly sight; while booths and tents were pitched on the plain in which hospitality was freely dispensed to all comers. The gilt coffin rested on a car under a gay tinsel canopy surmounted by the sacred seven-storyed spire or *pyathat*. Ropes were attached to both sides of the car and a great tug-of-war took place; every body striving amidst shouts and laughter to gain the honour of pulling the body to the funeral pyre. There were apparently no fixed rules as to which side to take; everybody rushed in to help the weaker, till all were tired out with the merry contest; and the coffin was raised on its final resting-place under the sacred tinsel spire on a high platform piled round with combustibles. This was fired by discharging huge rockets at it from distant points, and the falling of badly aimed missiles among the crowd gave fresh cause for merriment. It was indeed a strangely gay and theatrical scene, very different from our European notions of an impressive funeral. Buddhism has been styled the "religion of despair," but sights like this give by no means the impression of a gloomy view of the future state; on the

contrary *nirvana* appears to be an existence of the highest bliss, free from all passion and care and of the purest spiritual enjoyment. It must, however, be owned that the average Burman does not immediately look forward to *nirvana*. His aspirations do not soar so high and he hopes to first join the throng of happy *nats** or spirits who dwell on Mount Meru, exempt from all cares and bodily ills, in a ceaseless round of sensual pleasures.

What struck me most on this occasion were the subjects of the paintings adorning the tinsel pavilions. Besides scenes from the *Jatakas* or Legends of Gautama the artists had given vivid representations of the horrors of Buddhist hell, where hideous devils with pitchforks are tossing the unfortunate victims about in hell-fire or flaying them alive: while dogs, birds, and loathsome maggots feed on their ever-renewed flesh; and poor fishermen, guilty of the heinous offence of taking life, are dangling over leaping flames, suspended by hooks through their upper lip. But what appeared to me most interesting, were scenes from the great Sanskrit epic the Ramayana, in which Rama and Sita and the popular monkey leader Hanuman, as well as Ravana and his host of *rakshasas* or *bilus* could easily be recognized although in Burmese guise. It is noteworthy that in Burma, in a strictly Buddhist ceremonial, these episodes from Hindu mythology should have found a place, and it would seem to show that even now the Burman has not yet lost all remembrance of the older religious system which preceded Buddhism in Burma as well as India.

MANDALAY.

From Rangoon I proceeded by rail to Mandalay in Upper Burma, which is situated on the left bank of the Irrawaddy, two miles away from the river. The capital was removed here from Amarapura, some six miles to the south, by Mindôn Min, the father of King Thebaw, in 1860, so that the town is now but little over 30 years old. It was occupied by the British in November 1885.

With the exception of the pagoda on Mandalay hill and some of the Tawgyaung structures at the south-west corner of the palace, all the buildings in Mandalay have been erected since 1858, when the construction of the fort and palace were commenced. However, many of them are very interesting, not only from their intrinsic beauty and their connection with the late Royal family, but also inasmuch as they doubtlessly carry on the traditional features of the older styles.

The town was laid out on the ancient plan of Indo-Chinese capitals, as found at Amarapura and Ava, and at the older capitals of Upper and Lower Pagân, Prome, Pegu and Thatôn, as far as one can judge from descriptions and remains. This plan consists of a number of squares, one within the other, facing the cardinal points. In the very centre is the palace square, next the fortified square citadel, and about this the town, which again is sometimes, though not in the case of Mandalay, surrounded by outer defences in the form of a square. The main roads run in straight lines, due north and south or east and west, thus crossing each other at right angles. At Mandalay the portion of the town within the fort or citadel walls was formerly known as the "city" and contained the houses and huts of the nobles and their followers, as well as quarters for troops and the various hangers on about the King's Court. All these buildings have now been cleared away to make room for the cantonment. A battled brick wall and a deep moat still surround the fort as before. The wall is about 9 furlongs long on each side, 24 feet high and 3 feet thick, backed inside by an earthen rampart, and protected by a number of projecting square bastions, surmounted by graceful five-storyed *pyathats* or watchtowers of the ordinary type. There are 12 gates through the fort wall, three on each side, equally spaced.

In front of each gate stands the wooden image of a guardian *nat*, and a massive teak post, bearing the name and sign of the gate. It is under or near these posts that the bodies of the unfortunate victims rest, who are said to have been

* According to Buddhist theology there are 31 seats or abodes, through which a being must advance to reach final beatitude in Nirvana: namely, 4 seats of punishment, the first of which is hell and the last animal life; 1 of trial, the human life; 6 of *nats* (spirits or angels); 16 seats of *rupa*, where only enjoyments of a refined and spiritual nature are participated in; and, finally, 4 seats of *arupa* for beings entirely freed from all attachment to matter and given up to spiritual contemplation. See "Bigandet's Life of Gaudama," p. 5.

buried alive in order that their spirits or *nat-thens* might watch over the gate and keep out evil-intentioned people. The moat is crossed by five wooden bridges, namely, one in the middle of each side and an extra one on the west or river face opposite the south-west gate which was formerly reserved for funeral processions.

Exactly in the centre of the Fort stands the Royal palace or *Nandaw*. I have attached a plan of it to a scale of 200 feet to the inch, which was prepared in 1887 by the Intelligence Branch Office, and shows the disposition of the palace buildings as they were when we took possession of them in November 1885. As will be seen the plan exhibits a square fortified enclosure somewhat over three furlongs long, defended by an outer palisade of teak posts 20 feet high and an inner brick wall, with an open esplanade of about 60 feet width between them running all round. This walled square was cut up into numerous courts surrounded by high walls, and in the very centre, to make it as secure as possible, was an inner enclosure containing the palace. The late kings were in constant dread of treachery and hardly ever dared to leave the palace, the loss of which practically meant the loss of the whole kingdom. To the north and south of the "Inner Palace Enclosure" are two large walled-in gardens containing royal pavilions, and laid out with canals, artificial lakes and grottoes, very different from the usual stiff oriental plan and no doubt designed by the Italians in Mindôn Min's service. The outer stockade and all the brick walls have now been removed, as also many of the minor structures; the chief palace buildings, however, are still standing though in many instances sadly out of repair.

Four strongly guarded gates led through the outer defences, the main entrance being through the eastern one. The large gates were only opened for the king, all other people had to squeeze through the *tagáni* or red postern at the side, which obliged them to bow lowly, as they drew near the Royal precincts. Entering the eastern gate, which is still standing, one had to cross a large outer court, extending along the whole of that side and about 425 feet wide. This is styled the "Eastern Enclosure" on the plan and contained a number of subsidiary buildings, such as the armoury, printing press, mint, post office, quarters for servants and the guard, the Royal Monastery, King Mindôn's Mausoleum and the houses of a few of the highest officials. Beyond this was another spacious court in front of the palace, about 1,100 feet long and 330 feet wide, entered on the plan as the "Outer Palace Enclosure," at the northern end of which races and various sports on horseback used to take place before the King. In the centre of this Court, straight in front, stands the Great Audience Hall (I on plan), projecting out boldly from the face of the palace with which it is connected at the back. The private part of the palace is behind this on an elevated oblong platform some 8 or 10 feet high, in an inner enclosure, which was entered through two jealously guarded gates on both sides of the Great Audience Hall. At the western end of palace platform is a Private Audience Hall with the Lily Throne (VIII on plan) where ladies were received, and between these two audience halls are numerous wooden pavilions, formerly occupied by the various queens and princesses, as shown in detail on the plan. The general arrangement reminds one very much of the old Moghul palaces at Delhi and Agra, with the Public Audience Hall or Diwan-i-am, standing in a vast court where tournaments used to be held, and the private part of the palace immediately behind, containing the Diwan-i-khas or Private Audience Hall, besides various garden and other courts. Of course the style of the buildings is entirely different, nor is the same amount of seclusion for the women's apartments observed in Burma. The Great Audience Hall in the Mandalay Palace or *Yóndaw* is a long columned building extending along the eastern front of the palace, and has steps leading up to the platform in front of it at the foot of which the English Resident had to leave his boots before proceeding into the presence of the king. The great throne called the 'Lion Throne,' stands at the back of a western transept opening into the centre of the hall. It is approached by steps from behind, as in the case of the thrones in the Diwan-i-am at Agra and Delhi, through a folding door of gilt iron screen-work. In shape it is like the ordinary pedestals attached to images of Buddha, narrowing in at the centre and expanding above and below. The niche or doorway behind it is in the characteristic Burmese flamboyant style, with peculiar

horn-like ornaments, the whole richly covered with gilding and glass mosaic. Over the Lion Throne rises the high seven-storeyed gilded spire or *shwepyathat*, the external emblem of royalty, to which loyal Burmans had to *shikho* in the dust on approaching the sacred precincts of the court. The Burmans used to call this spire the "Centre of the Universe," arguing with true national arrogance, that it is the centre of Mandalay, which is the centre of Burma, and hence of the Universe. A view of it is given in Photograph No. 13, from which it will be seen that it is a very striking and pleasing feature of the palace buildings, grouping well with the gabled roofs clustering round it. The view also shows that the style of the buildings is exactly the same as that of the wooden monasteries already described, and a specimen of which is given in the previous photograph, No. 12. All the palace buildings are of this type, single-storeyed and elaborately carved, and in the case of the audience halls and reception and throne rooms richly decorated with red paint, gilding, and glass mosaic. The pavilions in which the various queens and princesses lived are raised on posts 3 or 4 feet above the platform, while the more public buildings are either level with the platform or have a very low plinth. In Photograph No. 14 is given a copy of a plan originally prepared by Mindôn Min's Architect for the buildings of the palace proper. The design has not been strictly followed, but is interesting as showing what was considered necessary. The original of this plan is in the possession of Major R. C. Temple, who also kindly supplied me with the plan of the palace and stockade, prepared in 1887, hereto appended. A plan of the whole palace square, as it stood in the late king's time, showing the exact disposition of the buildings, with detailed references and full descriptions, would be of the greatest scientific value, not only as a guide to this particular palace, but also as throwing light upon the probable arrangement of other Royal palaces in Burma which are now in ruins. As far as I know the only plan of this kind at present in existence is the one attached, which is unfortunately to so small a scale and so carelessly drawn that it is not easy to follow it. I would therefore strongly recommend that a larger scale plan, say, 50 feet to the inch, giving as much detailed information as possible, be prepared while we have still some data to go upon which a fire of a couple of hours' duration might at any moment sweep away for ever, and while we can yet obtain accurate information from people who have personal knowledge of the matter. A small index plan showing the position of the palace relatively to the citadel and town would also be interesting, and might be added in a corner of the larger plan. If such a record were kept there would then be no great objection to a gradual removal of some of the buildings as occasion requires, for it would be hopeless to attempt to preserve all these wooden structures. I need hardly say that a copy of this plan would also be an interesting exhibit in any Burman or Indian Museum. In connection with this I would draw attention to Fergusson's bitter lament, on page 594 of his *Indian Architecture* at the destruction, for military purposes, of all the inner arrangements of the Delhi palace, *without even making a plan or preserving any record of what was being destroyed*. I believe that the preservation of the palace buildings at Mandalay has occupied the attention of the local Government, and although I did not know of this when in Mandalay, and hence did not then specially consider this question, it may be useful to say a few words on the subject. On the palace platform the most interesting buildings appear to be the Great Audience Hall with the Lion Throne and *Shwepyathat* to the east (see I on plan), and the Private Audience Hall with the Lily Throne to the west, marked VIII on plan. If these two buildings were preserved as specimens of the style I think the rest might be dismantled.

The palace platform itself should, I think, be preserved as marking the site of the palace, and the space between the two audience halls could be laid out in public gardens with tennis courts and a bandstand, while the military club might remain in the Private Audience Hall as at present. It would also be highly desirable if one of the buildings, as, *e.g.*, the old theatre with the porch in front (marked I on plan) could be provisionally reserved for a local museum in which all articles of interest found in the palace and elsewhere could gradually be collected, and the plan of the palace stockade, above suggested, be exhibited,

until such time as a more substantial building, secure from all danger of fire, can be erected for the purpose.

Besides these there are some other buildings belonging to the old palace stockade which should, if possible, be preserved, *e.g.*, the small pavilion in the south garden (*see ZZ* in the plan), used as a summer-house by King Thebaw, and in the verandah of which he surrendered to General Prendergast and Colonel Sladen on the 29th of November 1885. A small tablet, placed there by Major Temple, records this event and the structure might be kept up on that account as a garden-house. Again, the richly carved *póngyi kyaung* where Thebaw went to school and passed the period of priesthood (*see A-3* on plan) now used as a chapel, would be worth preserving on account of its historical associations, as well as a specimen of the usual style of *kyaungs* in Upper Burma.

King Mindôn's Mausoleum to the north-east of the palace (*see plan*) might also be kept up mainly for its historical interest. It is a brick and plaster structure consisting of a square chamber surmounted by a seven-storeyed spire in imitation of the ordinary wooden *pyathats*. Mindôn Min, Thebaw's father, was buried here in 1878. The eastern gate with the bell and relic towers near it (*see A-1 and A-2* on plan) might also be left standing; in fact all the palace brick buildings.

Mandalay contained the finest monasteries in Burma, many of which were unfortunately destroyed in the great fire in March 1892, a few days after I left the palace. No expense and labour was spared in their ornamentation and they were liberally endowed by the king and the public. I have given before a general description of wooden monasteries and need not therefore enter into any details here, as they are all so alike. One notable deviation, however, from the usual style, though not to its advantage, from an artistic point of view, is the "Atûmashî" or Incomparable Kyaung, now also destroyed by fire, which is built up in brick-work and has no spire, though the structure itself is raised in diminishing terraces or stories apparently in imitation of a *pyathat*. The details outside are in debased Italian style, but the interior is finished off in the usual way with huge posts and wooden panelling adorned with very handsome wood carvings. Near the Incomparable Kyaung is a remarkable group of small pagodas or shrines containing inscribed stone slabs encircling a larger pagoda. These were erected by Mindôn Min and are locally known as the 450 pagodas.*

On Mandalay Hill, picturesquely placed, are several small pagodas which, when I saw them, had apparently quite recently been broken into in search of treasure. The breach exposed portions of several older structures inside, which bears out my description of the gradual growth of pagodas, and also shows that these pagodas are of some antiquity. It is a pity that structures of this sort, which, moreover, add to the beauty of the town, should be allowed to be thus disfigured. On the same hill is also a huge wooden and impressive standing figure of Buddha (about 35 feet high) with his right hand pointing to the *Shwepyathat* while at his feet kneels Ananda his favorite disciple. I would also recommend that these be taken care of. I noticed the roof of the shelter required repairs.

AMARAPURA.

Six or seven miles below Mandalay, on the same side of the river, are the ruins of the old Capital, Amarapura, the "City of Immortals," where King Bodaw-payâ first established his court in A. D. 1783. It was deserted for Ava in 1823 and became once more the capital in 1837 to be finally abandoned for Mandalay in 1860. This frequent changing of the Royal residence is a custom peculiar to the East, and we have similar examples of it in Fattehpur—Sikri, Agra, Delhi and Lahore, which were by turns the capitals of the Moghul Emperors.

The palace at Amarapura was apparently laid out on a similar plan to that of Mandalay, in the centre of a square citadel which is now in ruins and overgrown with jungle. There are, however, several fine pagodas and a colossal sitting figure of Buddha remaining in fairly good preservation. My visit was very

* The real number is 729 and they contain a copy of Bidagat or Buddhist Scripture. The whole work is known as the Kuthodaw and the Pagoda as the Lawkamayazin.

hurried and I did not see this image, but I should think it would be worth preserving so as to have as much as possible to mark the site of the old capital. There is a settlement of Chinamen at Amarapura who refused to migrate to Mandalay in 1860 with the rest as they had erected substantial brickhouses for themselves. These possess a very fine joss-house there (much larger than the one in Rangoon, shown in Photograph No. 8) which is said to have been put together without a single iron nail. It contains three courts, one behind the other, with a few images in the centre one and the real shrine at the back of the third, crowded with quaint bearded images in glass cases, Chinese jars and lanterns and other curios. One of the images represents a woman with a child strangely like the figures of the Virgin Mary in Roman Catholic Churches. A curious feature is the outer doorway of the joss-house which forms a complete circle and is flanked by two figures of extraordinarily grotesque-looking lions.

Between Amarapura and Mandalay is the Arakan temple which I have spoken of before, with the huge brass image of a seated Buddha known as the Mahāmuni image carried away from Arakan by King Bodawpaya in A. D. 1784. The image is about 12 feet high and said to be put together out of three pieces, but it is so thickly overlaid with gold leaf that it is difficult to verify the statement. It appears to be held in almost as great reverence as the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon, and the Burmese had long desired to gain possession of it. As early as the end of the 10th century King Anawratā is reported to have invaded Arakan in order to obtain this image, but was persuaded to retire without it. A few curious ancient bronze images of elephants one three-headed, and human figures, unfortunately broken, are placed in the court-yard. These are also said to have been brought away from Arakan in 1784. In some of the corridors leading to the image shrine bright frescoes adorn the walls and ceilings in which scenes depicting the torments of hell are conspicuous. They are not, however, of any artistic value.

SAGAING.

Several miles below Amarapura on the opposite bank of the Irrawaddy lies Sagaing which also once was a Royal capital. Away behind stretches a range of hills crowned with a multitude of pure white pagodas and with monasteries on the nearer slopes—a beautiful view, showing with what taste Burmans know how to select sites for their religious edifices. From these hills is, I believe, obtained the white brittle marble used for the images of Gautama. There is a curious gallery in one of these hills containing 49 huge seated images of Buddha hewn out of the living rock which are, however, so covered with plaster and whitewash that it is difficult to know what they are made of.

Similar figures are, I am told, found below Prome carved out of the steep rocky face overhanging the river. There are said to be about 50 of all sizes, standing free in the open and strongly recalling the Jain figures at Gwalior and other places in India.

About six miles from Sagaing is the Kaunghmūdaw Pagoda, shown in Photograph No. 16. It closely resembles in shape the ancient hemispherical topes of Ceylon and India as found at Sanchi and other places, which would lead one to give it a very old date were it not for a marble slab recording its construction A.D. 1636 in the square Burmese lapidary characters. The lower relic chamber is said to contain a golden image of Buddha, equal in weight to that of King Thado-dhamma Raja in whose reign the edifice was erected. It is probable that this pagoda was copied from an old Sinhalese model, for to judge from the pagodas at Pagān the usual form at the time of its construction must have been much more attenuated. Bishop Bigandet mentions having heard of a similar shaped pagoda near Bhamo. If this could be found it might help to elucidate this question, unless he alludes to the tall structures, known as the Bhamo Towers, which are really immensely elongated stūpas.

Opposite Sagaing is the ruined city of Ava or Ratanapura (City of Gems) which became the capital in 1364. Unfortunately I had no time to visit this place and only caught a glimpse of its broken ramparts from the river on my way to Pagān.

PAGAN.

Pagân is situated on the left bank of the Irrawaddy and abounds with brick and plaster buildings of all kinds. It is said to contain close upon a thousand pagodas and temples scattered over an area of eight by two miles. Pagân appears to have been the capital of Burma from the middle of the 9th to the end of the 13th century, and, as I have stated before, all its great religious buildings were erected between the years A. D. 1057 and 1227, a period of less than two centuries. This was a time of great religious revival induced by the pious King Anawratâ who detested the superstitious practices of snake and spirit worship, then largely prevailing, and conquered Thatôn for the express purpose of gaining possession of all the sacred relics and Buddhist scriptures kept there. Such a profusion and magnificence of religious edifices, erected in this comparatively short period, is probably unprecedented in the world's history. I had unfortunately only a few days to give to Pagân and had therefore to confine my attention to a few of the best known buildings. To explore Pagân with any degree of thoroughness would occupy several months, but would fully repay any amount of trouble taken over it.

I have already spoken of the large temples peculiar to this place, of which the "Ananda" is the earliest and perhaps most interesting. It contains four colossal statues of the four Buddhas of this world-period, probably over 40 feet high, namely, Kakusanda in the east, Konagamana in the south, Kasyapa in the west, and Gautama Buddha in the northern image chamber. In the narrow interior corridors are sculptured bas reliefs in niches illustrating scenes from Buddha's life which seem to be of Indian workmanship. As I have already pointed out the bulging* spire or *sikra* surmounting these temples is also Indian in design and I should imagine derived probably from Behar (*Magadhadesa*), with which Burma must have been in communication at this period, as is perhaps shown by the Bodhi temple (Photograph No. 24) which is beyond doubt a copy of the celebrated temple at Buddha Gaya. Moreover, from a Burmese stone inscription at Buddha Gaya itself, we know that the temple there was repaired about A. D. 1100 at the instance of the Burmese King of Pagân.

From what Mr. Donald Smeaton, the Financial Commissioner, told me it appears that there are to this day colonies of Indians settled in the Upper Irrawaddy Valley, and it is possible that their forefathers came from Behar and assisted in the construction of many of these temples.

A few of the temples and pagodas at Pagân are still looked after by the people in the neighbourhood, but there are hundreds of them, completely neglected and all more or less ruined. Time has done much to bring about the decay of these brick-buildings, but it has been helped on in most instances by the wanton destruction of treasure-hunters. It will be difficult to find a single pagoda here except the few still tended, which does not show the marks of these marauders. This was probably mostly done during the Chinese occupation and destruction of the city in A. D. 1284. As a result many of the older structures, inside the outer pagodas, have been exposed to view and we have here the largest variety of pagoda shapes of any place in Burma. A thorough scientific exploration of these would be most valuable, especially as we can fix the dates of erection within very narrow limits. Further excavation into some of the pagodas would also probably bring to light many inscriptions and other objects of historical and archæological interest. In the album accompanying these notes are few photographs I took at Pagân, namely, Nos. 18 to 24. Photograph No. 19 shows the Shwezigôn Pagoda which is said to have been erected at the beginning of the 11th century by King Anawratâ, the famous religious reformer, whose memory is still cherished by the people. The present shape is, however, probably of much later date, for it still continues to be revered and kept in repair. The original appearance was probably something like the small pagodas in Photographs Nos. 20 and 21 which are in the vicinity of this shrine. Behind the two huge lions at the entrance to the sacred precincts, shown in the photograph, is a rude stone image of a serpent,

* This form of *sikra*, with bulging outlines, is never found in the Dekhan or Ceylon, but characterizes all the older Hindu and Jaina temples of Hindustan, from Orissa to the Indus.

for it is fabled that a sacred *nagâ* or dragon raised the mound on which the pagoda stands from the bed of the Irrawaddy; near this pagoda is a *nat* or spirit temple, a survival of older cults. It is curious to observe how *nat* worship is still prevalent in all parts of Burma in spite of the early introduction of Buddhism there. At Thatôn is another of these temples with an image of the *nat* Popo, represented as a grey-bearded old man. There are some interesting terra-cotta tiles with bas reliefs, let into panels, round the square terraces on which the Shwezigôn Pagoda stands. The heavy gilding, however, makes it difficult to trace the scenes on them. But there is another large pagoda in a more or less ruined condition, the name of which I have not noted, about a mile beyond the Ananda temple, which has a very fine set of these terra cotta tiles. They are of red burnt clay, about two feet square and covered with groups of very well executed figures in low relief, some representing different scenes from Buddhist legends and mythology, while others show distinct traces of tree, serpent and fire worship, but their chief value lies in their having all inscriptions which will probably enable the subjects to be identified. It would be very interesting if some account of these bas reliefs could be published in the same way as has been done for the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures in India, as they probably contain valuable records of the early Buddhism of Burma, and the spirit and serpent worship supplanted by it. I would therefore recommend that the whole of the remaining tiles be removed without delay to the Rangoon Museum, where they would be safe and could be examined at leisure, for at present they are entirely uncared for and at the mercy of any curio-hunter. A great many have already been taken away, while others have been broken in clumsy attempts to remove them, and are lying about in fragments. Similar terra cotta tablets are found adorning the square terraces of the Thagya Pagoda at Thatôn from which these Pagân tiles have no doubt been copied. The old bricks lying near this ruined pagoda at Pagân are all marked with some letters which it would be interesting to decipher. Similar stamped bricks have been found among the ruins of Tagaung with Buddhist images and ancient Pali inscriptions.*

Portions of the older town walls and gates of Pagân are still existing as also traces of the palace buildings. Several shrines have fresco paintings on the walls. There are a number of interesting artificial caves cut into the soft sandstone rock near Pagân. Most of these are now deserted, but I found one, near the barracks, still occupied by a few hermits. These caves consist of corridors and small rooms with semi-circular or waggon-headed vaults. Some interesting objects are frequently found preserved in the monasteries. Mr. S. L. Aplin, the Assistant Commissioner, showed me some small terra cotta tablets with seated figures of Buddha surrounded by little pagodas, strongly resembling the burnt-clay seals found at Buddha Gaya, Yusufzai and elsewhere; also a couple of curious heads made of fine beaten gold which were deposited by one of the monasteries in the Government Treasury for security.

PROME.

The next place I passed through was Prome. The *Mahâyâzawin* or Great Royal Chronicle records that more than four centuries before Christ the capital of Tharekhettara was founded here which continued to be the religious centre till a century after Christ when Upper Pagân on the Irrawaddy near Tagaung was founded. Some ruins of this ancient capital, I believe, still exist some five miles to the east of Prome and are known as Yathemyo or "Hermits' Town." I had not time to visit these, but their exploration would no doubt be of interest.

Prome was occupied by the British in 1852. The most conspicuous object in it is the Shwesandaw Pagoda. Like so many of the Burmese pagodas, it is fabled to have been erected by two brothers, who obtained four hairs from Gautama Buddha which they enshrined there.† It is one of the largest and most sacred pagodas in Burma. A distant view of it is given in Photograph No. 25 and some of the structures near it are shown in Photograph No. 26. At the foot of

* Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume iv.

† The story of having been erected by two brothers and enshrining sacred hair-relics of Gautama Buddha is related in connection with so many of the Burmese pagodas, varying only in such details as to the names and positions of the brothers and the number of hairs they received from Gautama, that it cannot be doubted that they have all a common origin and are only variations of the same fable, which first occurs in the Jatakas preserved in Ceylon, as that of the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda of Rangoon.

the Shwesandaw Pagoda are some inscribed stone slabs recording the presentation of new treasure to the pagoda.

PEGU.

During the rest of my tour in the ancient Talaing country of Ramanyadesa I had the great advantage of Major R. C. Temple's company, an experienced and well known archæologist.

Pegu was one of the places we visited together. It is of special interest as the late capital of the Talaing or Môn monarchy, and is said to have been founded in A.D. 573 by emigrant princes from Thatôn, the older capital. Traces of the old town walls still remain and numerous ruins. Pegu contains also several large pagodas, among which the Shwemawdaw Pagoda is specially revered by the Talaings and ranks next in sanctity to the Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. It is said to have been erected by two Talaings and to contain two hairs of Gautama Buddha. Like most of the Burmese pagodas, it is picturesquely situated on an eminence overlooking the town, and, owing to its commanding position, was the scene of severe fighting in the Second Anglo-Burmese War, the marks of which are still plainly visible.

Views of the pagodas are given in Photographs Nos. 27 and 28, which differ considerably from the illustration on page 621 of Fergusson's *Indian Architecture*. A detailed description seems unnecessary as the building is of the usual modern type.

To the west of Pegu, in the Zainganaing quarter, is the Kalyâñisimâ or Ordination Hall erected by King Dhammocheti in A.D. 1476, a very interesting building where the Buddhist priests from all parts of the peninsula used to be ordained. Near this are the stones with the celebrated Kalyâñi inscriptions. There are 10 of them, about 12 feet high, 4 feet wide, and 15 inches thick; three with Pali inscriptions and seven with Talaing translations of the first, giving details of the ordination ceremony and accounts of the intercourse of Pegu and Burma with Ceylon and Southern India in the 15th century A.D. Most of the stones are broken, but the fragments are still lying on the ground and could easily be pieced together. As the inscriptions are of great value, it would be desirable to have the stones restored and put under a shelter.

Some distance further on is a very fine colossal recumbent image of Gautama Buddha (see Photograph No. 29) locally known as the Shwethayaung. It represents Buddha in the conventional attitude of attaining to *nirvâna*. The image is 181 feet long and 46 feet high. It was hidden under rubbish and jungle till discovered in 1881 by men in search of laterite. The whole figure is constructed of brickwork in regular courses and is remarkably well proportioned. The face alone is covered with stucco and has very good features, with a placid and dignified expression.

Not far from this is the Kyaikpun Pagoda which consists of four colossal sitting figures of Buddha, placed back-to-back, Cambodian fashion, said to be about 90 feet high and representing the four Buddhas who appeared in this *kalpa* or world-cycle. These I had unfortunately no opportunity of seeing.

Low mounds covering the ruins of ancient pagodas are dotted about the plain. From one of these in Mr. Jackson's garden a number of square glazed terra-cotta tiles were excavated which no doubt at one time occupied panels round the plinth steps of a pagoda, as we still see them in the Shwezigôn Pagoda at Pagân and the Thagyapaya at Thatôn. On these terra-cotta panels are bas reliefs of grotesque human and animal figures similar to those shown in Photograph No. 10 in the Rangoon Museum, which probably came from this locality. They are now lying uncared for about the garden, and as we were assured that the owner had no objection to their removal, it would be well if arrangements could be made to have these also deposited in the Museum.

SYRIAM.

The word Syriam is said to be an Anglicised version of the Burmese Thanlyin, by which name it is still called by the natives, while its Pali* name is

* The Burmese and Talaings usually have a Pali as well as a vernacular name for their towns and districts. Pali is a Sanskrit dialect, once generally in use in Behar, the cradle of Buddhism, and is the scriptural language of the Buddhists.

Khoddadippa. / It once was the principal port of Pegu and continued to be so up to the time of foundation of Rangoon and the utter destruction of the former by Alompra in A.D. 1756. It is fabled to have been founded nearly six centuries B.C., but did not take a prominent place in history until the end of the 16th century, when the adventurer Philip de Brito, better known as Nicote, seized it in the name of the Portuguese. Their dominion, however, did not last long, as the town was soon retaken by the Burmans under Mahádhammá Rájá in 1613. Subsequently the Burmans allowed some Dutch, English, and French traders to settle in Syriam, but their factories were finally destroyed by Alompra, and nothing now remains of these settlements but the ruins of a church, some tombs and traces of walls. Interior and exterior views are given in Photographs Nos. 30 and 31 of the remains of the Portuguese church, which is said to have been the first Christian church in Further India. It was erected in 1750 by Monsignor Nerini, the second Vicar Apostolic of Ava and Pegu and a member of the Barnabite Mission. In plan it consisted of a single nave and apsidal end in Italian style, constructed of pointed brickwork. The apse and side walls are still standing, though much ruined and overgrown with pipal trees.

A village now occupies the site of the old town and near it are the remains of several ancient brick pagodas of small dimensions, one of which is shown in Photograph No. 32, and, judging from its shape, it is probably of considerable age. Compare Photograph No. 33 representing the Kyaikkauk or Syriam Pagoda, situated 2 or 3 miles to the east of the former, which shows the modern type. This last pagoda also is fabled to have been erected over sacred hair relics of Gautama Buddha.

MOULMEIN.

Moulmein is situated at the mouth of the Salween river on its left bank. Its Pali name is Rámapura and it is said to have been originally founded by Hindu colonists. The present town, however, was built on the ancient site since the annexation of the country by the British in 1826. A low hill runs through it crowned by several fine pagodas of the usual type. In the precincts of one of these, namely, the Uzina or South Pagoda, are some remarkably well-carved modern figures of life size, representing the four visions of Gautama Buddha (*see* Photograph No. 34), the sight of which determined him to become a hermit, namely, a decrepit old man leaning on a staff; a man suffering from a loathsome disease; a putrid corpse; and, lastly, a recluse, in yellow garments, gentle and meek in manner, his face expressing perfect contentment and absence of worldly care. These figures are so startlingly life-like (excepting the hermit), that even on close inspection one can hardly realize that they are mere wood carvings. The interior of an image house close to the same pagoda is shown in Photograph No. 35. In front of the image is a very good specimen of modern wood-carving in the shape of an archway surrounded by vine foliage, with an amount of elaboration which might suit bijou work in ivory, but is hardly satisfactory in wood.

Numerous natural caves are found in the district of Moulmein in submarine limestone hills rising abruptly out of the plain. Many of these have from ancient times been used for religious purposes and filled with a multitude of small pagodas and images of all varieties.

Of these the Farm Cave, 10 miles east of Moulmein, is the best known, though unfortunately its easy accessibility has led to its being rifled of all the portable images within reach.

The cave consists of a main hall rounded at the further end, with a passage running up the centre, and broad platforms with images on both sides. A long corridor, also with image platforms, branches off on the right, running parallel to the face of the rock, with another entrance at the further end. Views of the two entrances with pagodas in front are given in Photographs Nos. 36 and 37. The cave must originally have contained an enormous mass of images. There are still a large number left, though mostly very much injured, some of them being of considerable size, reaching, in the case of the recumbent figures, a length of some 45 feet. The coved ceilings and walls are still covered, where they are out of reach, with numberless small terra-cotta and plaster images of seated Buddhas.

There is also a beautiful natural limestone cave in the same hill, half a mile further on, with splendid stalactites and stalagmites shaping themselves into noble columns supporting the high vaulted roof above, but this does not appear to have been utilized for religious purposes, probably because it is too dark.

The country about Moulmein is intersected by rivers, so that many of these cave temples in remoter parts of the district can only be reached by boat. We had therefore to hire a steam launch to go about in, and our excursions up the rivers took us through some of the most delightful tropical scenery imaginable. Just opposite Moulmein is the charming little islet of Gaungsekkyun (Head-washing Island), with its gleaming pagoda and wooden monastery surrounded by fine trees. This rocky islet is fabled to be suspended from the skies by an invisible cord, and derives its name and sanctity from a spring of clear water on its surface, from which the kings of Burma formerly obtained the necessary supply of water for the solemn function of washing the King's head, a ceremony which took place at the capital once every year at New Year's feast.

Opposite Moulmein, on the right bank of the Salween river, is the old town of Martaban, Pali Muttama, now dwindled down to a village. The old walls and ramparts are still visible from the river, as also a few neglected pagodas. One of these is overlaid with small square pieces of lead, covered with a brightly coloured kind of lacquer (brown, grey, yellow, gold and green) attached to the plaster with English tin tacks, proving its modern date. A similar kind of ornamentation is found on one of the pagodas at Thatôn, which is said to be old.

Going up the river one cannot help marvelling how the building materials for the white pagodas ever got up the precipitous hills on which one sees them perched, rising up sometimes perpendicularly to above a thousand feet in height. One of these rocky limestone hills is particularly conspicuous from its resemblance to the outline of a face and is known as the "Duke of York's Nose." A tiny pagoda rests on the very tip of it, which can only be reached by climbing the bare face of the rock and up frail bamboo ladders over yawning abysses, and yet worshippers are not wanting to face this perilous ascent and lay their humble offerings before the shrine.

About 28 miles from Moulmein by river is the Kawgun Cave, near the village of Pagat, up the Kawgun stream. The cave is in an isolated limestone hill, with the entrance about 30 feet up, and reached by an inclined way sheltered by the overhanging rock. The outer appearance of the cave is shown in Photographs Nos. 38, 39 and 40, in which will be seen some of the innumerable small terra-cotta images of seated Buddhas, interspersed with occasional larger alabaster and stucco figures, some standing and some reclining, which encrust the face of the rock right along to a height of about 50 feet. The terra-cotta images are all small, from 2 to 12 inches high, set in a bed of mortar in regular rows. Some of them are gilt and a few have inscriptions on the back in Talaing characters, setting out the names of the donors. In between these rows of smaller images are occasional groups of larger figure-subjects set in ornamental plaster niches, the subject of one of which was remarkable, representing Buddha preaching to a serpent under the Bodhi tree. Large modern images under wooden shelters and several small brick and plaster pagodas, mostly dug into for treasure, line the outer edge of the ascent. One of the latter is shown in Photograph No. 40. Close to this small pagoda is a stalagmite formed into a curious *chaitya* or shrine on a square base, with a cylindrical body about 10 feet high, the whole surface of which is covered with small images and which is surmounted by a standing Buddha figure under a canopy. The pendent stalactites above are profusely ornamented with stucco Buddha images in every attitude.

The cave runs about 100 feet along the rock, north and south, and about 50 feet into it to westward. A large recumbent Buddha image occupies the further end of the inner cave, and all available space within is taken up with a mass of images of all sizes, and a multitude of shrines and Buddhist remains in brickwork, stone alabaster, wood and terra-cotta of all ages, from apparently a thousand years back up to this century, and accordingly of the greatest interest.

All the newer images are of the ordinary Burmese type already described, but the cave is full of unmistakably old images, a small collection of which is

shown in Photograph No. 41, which, however, by no means exhausts the different kinds there. Most of those in the photograph are carved of wood, a few of which are covered with a varnish of *thitsi* or wood-oil. I found several in the cave with little but the outer varnish shell left, the wood within having almost entirely disappeared through many centuries of decay. As will be seen, the general appearance of most of the images in Photograph No. 41 is very unlike the ordinary Burmese type. Several of them have, for instance, three snakes coiled round the pedestal, the large hood and grotesque head of the centre one sheltering* the figure from above, while the two smaller ones keep guard on each side. Similar snake canopies are found in other parts of Burma, though very rarely. Other images, again, wear peculiar high-peaked crowns resembling *pyathats*, and have curly wing-like ornaments at the shoulders not unlike the *nat* figures shown in Photograph No. 4. They are, however, seated cross-legged in the conventional Buddha attitude on a regular image throne, and give the impression of deified *nats* or spirits. In several instances a couple of these figures are placed together on the same throne or pedestal, either of the same size, or one a little larger and with a higher and more elaborate head-dress. These double figures I have not met with anywhere else in Buddhist sculptures either in Burma or India. Another remarkable thing is the peak on top of the head of the upper centre figure, which is, strangely enough, formed into the shape of a flame as usually represented in sculpture. Some of these peculiarities are probably of Sinhalese and Dravidian origin, while others no doubt come from Cambodia or Siam, for Rāmānya was under Cambodian rule from the 6th to the 10th century A.D. and under Siamese rule in the 14th century. A thorough examination of this and other caves in the district would, however, be highly interesting and desirable, and it would be easy to stock a whole museum with valuable antiquities from them, not to speak of the prehistoric fossil remains which excavation in these caves would most probably bring to light. These cave temples are apparently quite neglected and no objection was raised to our removing a few of the images from the Kawgun Cave, although there happened to be a fair and crowds of people present when we visited it.

Another of these caves is the Dhamathā Cave on the Ggain river, about 18 miles from Moulmein and half a mile from the village and pagoda of the same name. The cave passes right through the hill from east to west, and has numerous stalactites pendent from the caverned roof. It is ornamented with brick and plaster work, and contains a multitude of small pagodas and images of all kinds, similar to those described above. The brick and plaster pagodas and large images are, however, in a very ruined condition, and many of the smaller ones have apparently been removed. The great age of some of the structures in this cave is proved by the formation of stalactites over them. There is a funnel-like hole high up in the vaulted roof of the cave above one of the *chaityas*, the mouth of which is boarded over, and which is said to contain a collection of ancient manuscripts in *sadaiks* or carved wooden boxes placed there long ago for safety. It would be interesting to verify the truth of this report. Another similar hole or funnel is just outside the eastern entrance.

Four miles south of Duyinzek up the Dundami river, about 50 miles from Moulmein, is the Bingyi Cave, of much the same type as the others, but of better preservation than the Dhamathā Cave. A pool of water is at the end of it flush with the floor, in which the roof is reflected, and near it are some hot springs.

THATÔN.

Thatôn is about 60 miles travelling distance north of Moulmein. It was in ancient times a very important seaport and trade centre, but, owing to the recession of the sea, has long ceased to be a port and lost its pre-eminence. Tradition ascribes its foundation to Indian colonists, who are said to have come over at a remote time from the mouths of the Kristna and Godavery and to have

* It may be as well to mention here that the serpent is considered a protecting and benignant deity in the East and the snake canopy here has no doubt reference to the legend of the Nâga (which lived in a large pool near the Bodhi tree) sheltering Gautama Buddha from a great storm.

formed settlements in the delta of the Irrawaddy and the adjoining coast. This part of the country was known to the Buddhists as Suvarna Bhûmi, the "Golden Land," and has been identified with the Golden Chersonese or Aurea Regio of classic writers. From Buddhist writings preserved in Ceylon and elsewhere it would appear that Buddhism was introduced here long before it reached Burma proper. At the third great synod held in Pataliputra, the modern Patna, about B.C. 241, it was determined to send missionaries to all lands to preach the doctrines of Buddhism, and accordingly two missionaries, Sona and Uttara, were despatched to Suvarna Bhûmi (later known as Râmanya), the country of the Môn or Talaing race, whose chief city was then at Thatôn. There were, however, no written records kept at that time of these doctrines, and the Talaings did not obtain a written copy of the Buddhist scriptures until it was brought over from Ceylon about the middle of the 5th century A.D. by Buddhaghosa (the Voice of Buddha), a learned native of Behar, so named from his great eloquence.* After that Thatôn seems to have kept up a close intercourse with the mother church in Ceylon and to have become a great stronghold of Buddhism, possessing a learned priesthood and many sacred relics and precious manuscripts. It continued to be the great religious centre until it was conquered and destroyed in the 11th century by Anawratâ the Burmese king of Pagân, who burnt and sacked the place and took away with him many elephant-loads of relics and manuscripts, as well as the most learned of the priesthood. It is therefore at Thatôn that we may expect to find some of the earliest archaeological remains in Burma, as also the models from which the religious edifices at Pagân have been copied.

Unfortunately there is now but little left and what there is has not yet been properly explored. Traces of the old fortifications and walls are still visible and, from Mr. St. John's description, the town would appear to have been erected on much the same plan as Mandalay with a square citadel surrounded by the outer town and the royal throne room occupying the very centre of all. Between the citadel and south town wall some remains of ancient laterite pagodas are still in existence, three of which are in fairly good preservation and very like some of those found at Pagân. They have three diminishing square terraces on which the round pagodas rest; the latter are modernized with brick and plaster, but the old laterite terraces have preserved their original appearance. Terra-cotta panels, with curious scenes depicted thereon in bas relief, were let into these terraces in the same manner as already described in the case of similar pagodas in Pagân. Only a few of these panels now remain. As far as I know nothing has yet been found at Thatôn which would account for the large temples at Pagân, though they probably also came from here.

The three stone slabs with Hindu bas reliefs now in the Rangoon Museum, shown in Photograph No. 11, were found in Thatôn, and it is probable that the two Hindu sculptures shown on the left-hand side of Photograph No. 9 also came from this neighbourhood, though unfortunately nothing is recorded about them. We know that Brahmanism preceded Buddhism here as in other parts of Burma, and fierce struggles for supremacy are believed to have taken place between the two parties during the first eight or ten centuries of our era in which Buddhism eventually gained the day.

In digging a well about a quarter mile from the railway station a standing image, about 3 feet high, was lately discovered 14 feet below the surface. It is very like the Jain images of Southern India, with long arms, broad shoulders, curly hair with a fillet or band on the forehead, under the left arm a book, with the fingers of the left hand resting on the shoulder. The lucky finder has set it up under a new shrine and the people are crowding in to worship it, as it is considered a divine manifestation of good omen.

* The Burmese as well as the Talaings received their alphabet with their religion from India, and although the two languages have no affinity, their alphabets differ but slightly, both being a circular variety of the old Devanagârî or Pali characters. The older Burmese and Talaing inscriptions are in square characters, which have assumed a rounded shape in modern writing from being scratched with a style on palm leaves. The oldest inscriptions so far discovered in Burma are, I believe, those on the inscribed bricks found among the ruins of Tagaung, which are in the Gupta characters of the first two centuries of the Christian era. It is, however, probable that the present alphabets of Burma and Pegu are entirely derived from the Pali scriptures brought to Thatôn by Buddhaghosa in the 5th century A.D.

This religious propensity has been put to good account by the far-sighted proprietor of the small local railway* here, who, requiring a settlement of villagers at the Duyinzeik terminus of his line, invested in an image of Buddha and after giving it a coat of luminous paint, had it secretly placed on the spot where the settlement was required. The discovery of the luminous image at night-time produced a great sensation in the surrounding country and pilgrims crowded in to see the miraculous manifestation. With a little judicious management a story soon circulated that Buddha had appeared in this guise to show his anger at there being no shrine for him in that locality. The consequence was that a pagoda was soon erected over the image, and the wished-for settlement followed as a matter of course.

Here my short tour in Burma ended, and I departed with much regret from a country so full of natural beauty and objects of artistic, historical and archæological interest. From the occasional remarks on that subject made above, it will be seen that there is no time to be lost for taking measures to preserve and collect the more valuable archæological remains of the country before it is too late, and for this purpose an early and scientific exploration of all parts of Burma seems necessary.

Meanwhile I would add, in conclusion, a few general remarks which may be found useful in the preservation of archæological remains. The object of conservation should be to *preserve* and not *restore*. Restoration is almost under any circumstances to be deprecated, and should at all events not be attempted without obtaining the best advice. As to preserving, until a proper archæological survey is made in Burma and a list prepared of all the most valuable antiquities, the best thing that can be done is to keep everything as far as possible *in statu quo*, that is to say, to prevent any interference with such objects, as for instance ancient buildings, sculptures and images, old brick heaps and mounds, town walls, and any other remains on the sites of ancient cities, and so forth. Much mischief is done by treasure-hunters and railway and road contractors, far more than through the natural agencies of decay and vegetation. I have already noticed the handiwork of the treasure-hunters in rifling pagodas. This is bad enough, as it hastens the fall of the buildings, but what is far worse, is the wholesale destruction and removal of old brick and stone remains by contractors, as they find the materials handy for their work. The mischief so done is quite incalculable, as it often results in the entire eradication of all traces of the most valuable remains. The outward appearance of old remains is no criterion of their archæological value; a mere brick heap or low mound overgrown with jungle may cover the most ancient and valuable antiquities, and, in fact, these mounds are the very places where we can hope to find them. Any prohibition, therefore, against interference should extend to all old remains, however insignificant in appearance, and be specially brought to the attention of all the officers in charge of building operations in the country. The danger is particularly great at the present time when so many new railways, canals, buildings, and roads are in progress, and the temptation to pick up cheap and convenient material is naturally great.

The instructions should also provide for the collection and preservation of all pieces of sculpture and inscriptions which may be discovered in excavations for canals and railways, the most valuable of which should then be sent to the Phayre Museum.

I do not think anything further can be done at present until a detailed survey has been made, as it is of course impossible until then to say what is worth preserving permanently and what measures should be adopted in each particular case. In determining this I would once more insist that the guiding principle should be, not to attempt any restoration, and to restrict the repairs to what is absolutely necessary to keep the structure standing. The aim of conservation should be to preserve *authentic* specimens of the ancient arts and historical antiquities of the country as we find them, and the less they are added to or hidden by ill-advised attempts at restoration the better.

F. O. OERTEL.

The 20th December 1892.

*The oldest line in Burma (2-feet gauge, I believe), 8 miles long, leading from Thatôn to Duyinzeik on the Dundami river, used for the transport of rice.

List of Photographs accompanying the Note on a Tour in Burma by Mr. F. O. Oertel.

No.

SUBJECTS.

1. Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon, from the Cantonment Gardens.
2. South entrance to the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon.
3. The great bell at the Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon, cast in 1842 by King Tharrawadi when on a visit to Rangoon, and weighing 42 tons.
4. Group of figures round the base of a flagstaff (*tagónndaing*), Shwe Dagôn Pagoda, Rangoon.
5. Sacred gilt iron-work umbrellas or *tis*, presented by Shân worshippers, Shwe Dagôn Pagoda.
6. Sulè Pagoda, Rangoon.
7. New stucco shrine or *tazaung-pyathat*, Sulè Pagoda, Rangoon.
8. Small Chinese Temple, Rangoon.
9. Glazed terra-cotta figure panels (said to come from Pegu), Phayre Museum, Rangoon.
Lower two sculptures to left show Hindu figures. It is not known where they came from.
10. Glazed terra-cotta panels with grotesque figures (probably from Pegu), Phayre Museum, Rangoon.
11. Hindu bas-reliefs from Thatôn. Phayre Museum, Rangoon.
12. Pôngyi Kyaung or Monastery of the Myâdaung Queen, Mandalay.
13. The Palace, Mandalay, from the south-east corner, showing the Shwe-pyathat or "Centre of the Universe."
14. Original plan made for the Royal Palace at Mandalay, with references giving the object of each building.
15. Image of Gautama in the Incomparable Kyaung, Mandalay.
16. Kaunghmudaw Pagoda near Sagaing.
17. Rest-house or *zayât* near the Kaunghmudaw Pagoda.
18. View of Pagân from above the Court-house.
19. Shwezigôn Pagoda, Pagân.
20. Small old brick pagodas near the Shwezigôn Pagoda, Pagân.
21. Old brick pagoda near the Shwezigôn Pagoda, Pagân.
22. Modern pagodas, Pagân.
23. General view of Pagân.
24. Pagoda at Pagân, with Bodhi temple to the left, intended to be a copy of the Buddha-Gaya temple.
25. *General view of Prome, with Shwesandaw Pagoda on the right.
26. Wooden image shrine or *tazaung-pyathat*, Shwesandaw Pagoda, Prome.
27. Shwemawdaw Pagoda, Pegu.
28. Shwemawdaw Pagoda, Pegu.
28. "Shwethayaung" or colossal recumbent image of Gautama, 181 feet long and 46 feet high, Pegu.
30. Interior view of the ruined Church at Syriam, the oldest in Burma, erected in A.D. 1750.
31. Exterior view of the ruined Church at Syriam.
32. Old brick pagoda, Syriam.
33. The Kyaikkauk or Syriam Pagoda.
34. Carved wooden figures at the Uzina or South Pagoda, Moulmein, representing the four visions of Buddha. Modern.
35. Interior of a shrine or *tazaung*, Uzina Pagoda, Moulmein.
36. North entrance of the Farm Cave, 10 miles east of Moulmein.
37. South entrance of the Farm Cave, Moulmein district.
38. View of Kawgun Cave from below, 28 miles from Moulmein.
39. Entrance of Kawgun Cave, Moulmein district.
40. Ruined pagoda at entrance of Kawgun Cave, Moulmein district.
41. Images in Kawgun Cave, Moulmein district.
42. Collection of images from the Kawgun Cave and elsewhere in the possession of Major R. C. Temple.

* This photograph is not reproduced as the plate has been lost.





No. 1.—SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON, FROM THE CANTONMENT GARDENS.

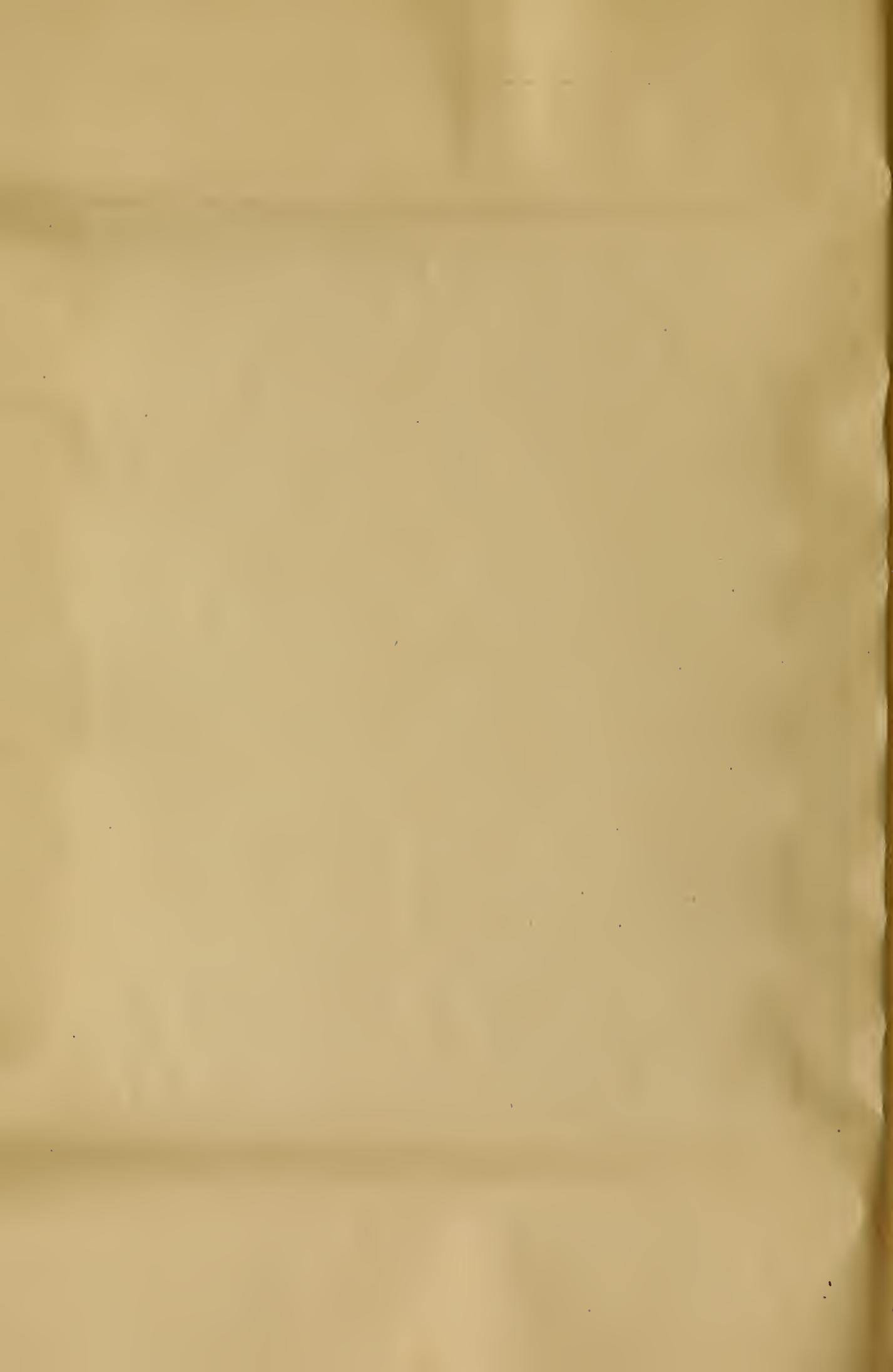


No. 2.—SOUTH ENTRANCE TO THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.



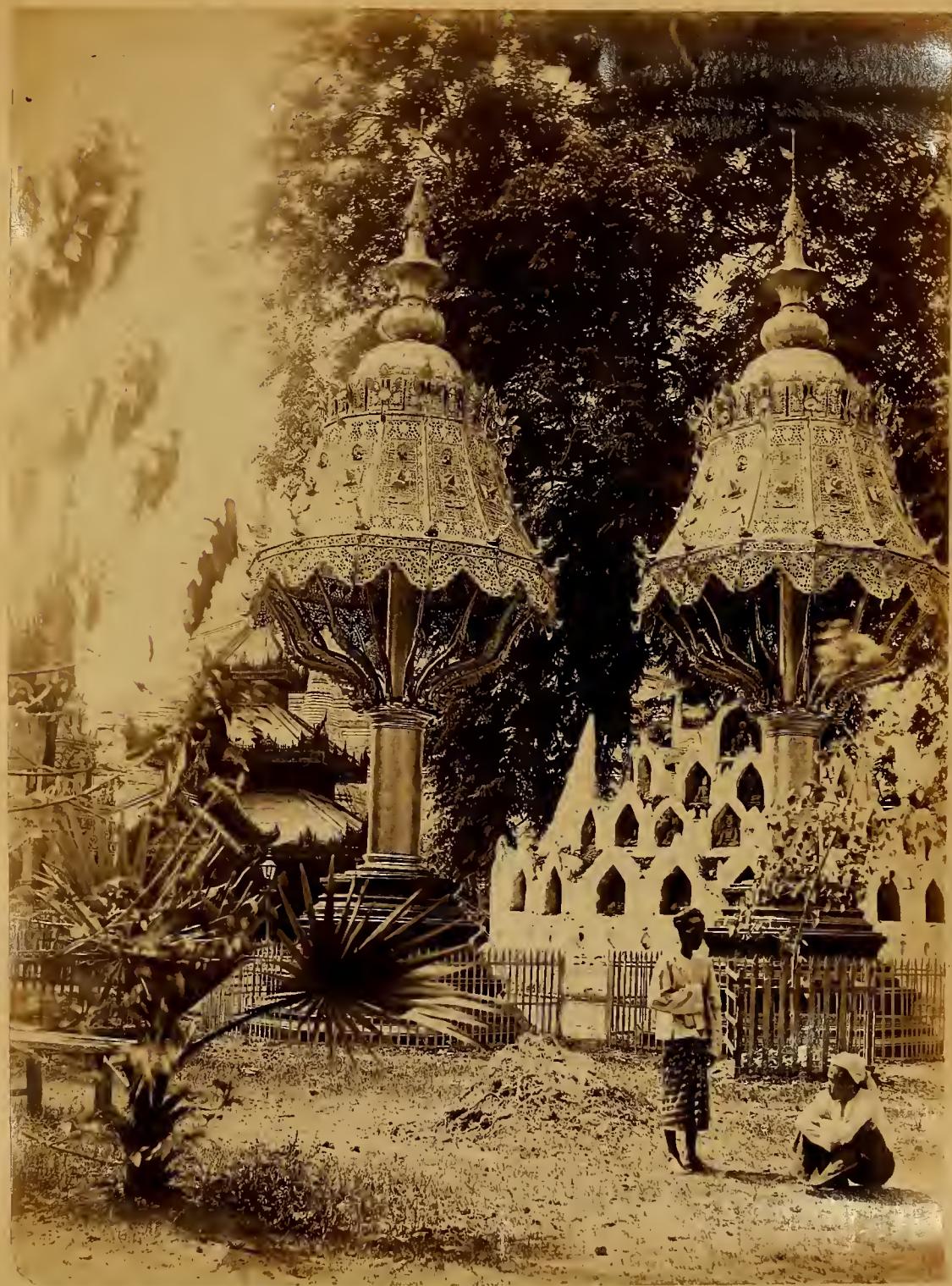


No. 3.—THE GREAT BELL AT THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON, CAST IN 1842 BY KING THARRAWADI WHEN ON A VISIT TO RANGOON, AND WEIGHS 42 TONS.





NO. 4.—GROUP OF FIGURES ROUND THE BASE OF A FLAGSTAFF (TAGONDAING,) SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.



No. 5.—SACRED GILT IRON-WORK UMBRELLAS OR *TIS* PRESENTED BY SHAN WORSHIPPERS, SHWE DAGON PAGODA



No. 6.—BULE PAGODA, RANGOON.



No. 7.—NEW STUCCO SHRINE OR *TAZAUNG-PYATHAT*, SULE PAGODA, RANGOON.



No. 8.—SMALL CHINESE TEMPLE, RANGOON.



No. 9.—GLAZED TERRA-COTTA FIGURE PANELS (SAID TO COME FROM PEGU), PHAYRE MUSEUM, RANGOON. LOWER TWO SCULPTURES TO LEFT SHOW HINDU FIGURES. IT IS NOT KNOWN WHERE THEY CAME FROM.



No. 10.—GLAZED TERRA-COTTA PANELS WITH GROTESQUE FIGURES (PROBABLY FROM PEGU), PHAYRE MUSEUM, RANGOON.



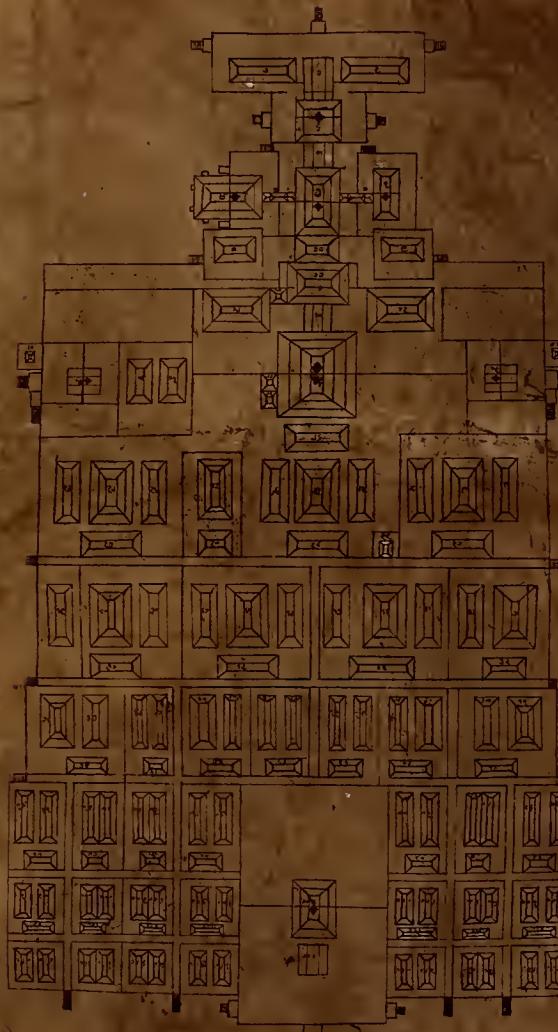
No. 11.—HINDU BAS-RELIEFS FROM THATON, PHAYRE MUSEUM, RANGOON.



No. 12.—PONGYI KYAUNG OR MONASTERY OF THE MYADAUNG QUEEN, MANDALAY.



No. 13.—THE PALACE, MANDALAY, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST CORNER, SHOWING THE SHWE-PYATHAT OR "CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE."



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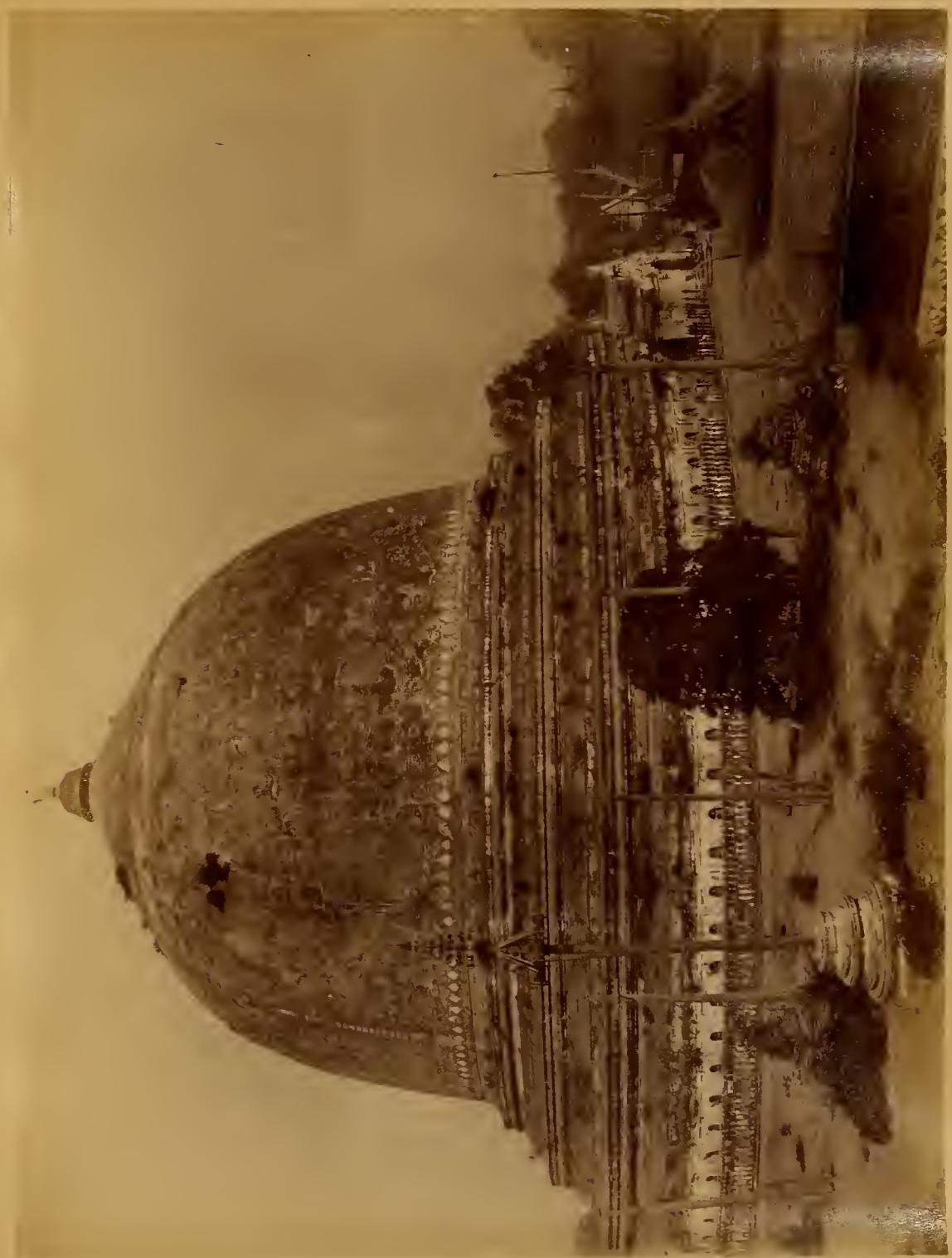
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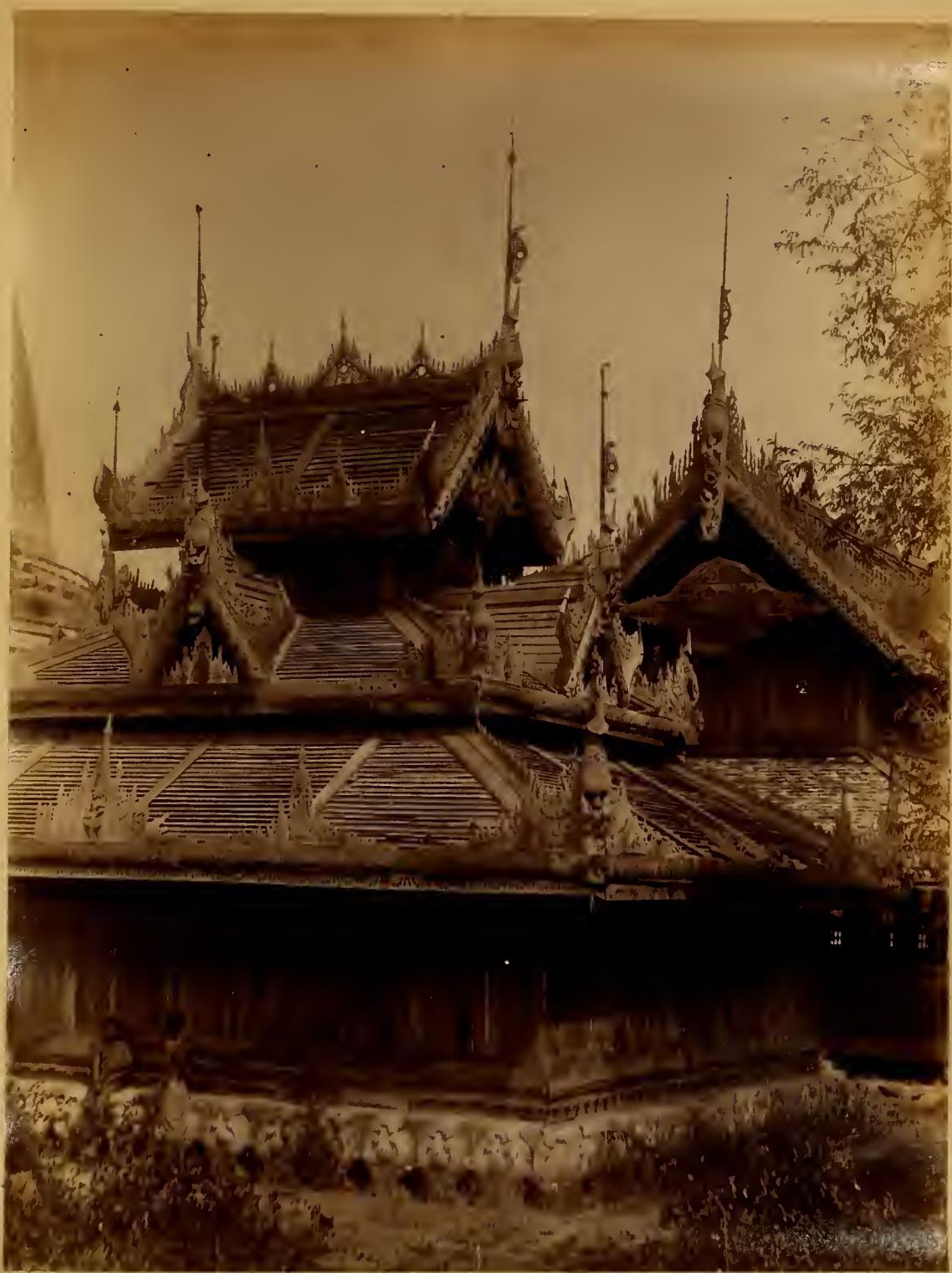
NO. 14.—ORIGINAL PLAN MADE FOR THE ROYAL PALACE AT MANDALAY, WITH REFERENCES GIVING THE OBJECT OF EACH BUILDING.



No. 15.—IMAGE OF GAUTAMA IN THE INCOMPARABLE KYAUNG, MANDALAY.



No. 16.—KYAUNGHMUDAW PAGODA NEAR SAGAING.



No. 17.—REST-HOUSE OR ZAYAT NEAR THE KAUNGHMUDAW PAGODA.



No. 18.—VIEW OF PAGAN FROM ABOVE THE COURT-HOUSE.



No. 19.—SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.



No. 20.—SMALL OLD BRICK PAGODAS NEAR THE SHWEZIGGON PAGODA, PAGAN.



No. 21.—OLD BRICK PAGODA NEAR THE SHWEZIGON PAGODA, PAGAN.



No. 22.—MODERN PAGODAS, PAGAN.



No. 25.—GENERAL VIEW OF PAGAN.



NO. 24.—PAGODA AT PAGAN, WITH BODHI TEMPLE TO THE LEFT, INTENDED TO BE A COPY OF THE BUDHAGAYA TEMPLE.



No. 26.—WOODEN IMAGE SHRINE OR TAZAUNG-PYATHAT, SHWESANDAW PAGODA, PROME.



No. 27.—SHWEMAWDAW PAGODA, PEGU.



No. 28.—SHWEMAWDAW PAGODA, PEGU.



No. 29.—"SHWETHAYAUNG" OR COLOSSAL RECLINING IMAGE OF GAUTAMA, 181 FEET LONG AND 46 FEET HIGH, PEGU.



NO. 30.—INTERIOR VIEW OF THE RUINED CHURCH AT SYRIAM, THE OLDEST IN BURMA, ERECTED IN A. D. 1780.



No. 31.—EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE RUINED CHURCH AT SYRIAM.



No. 32.—OLD BRICK PAGODA, SYRIAM.



No. 33.—THE KYAIKKAUK OR SYRIAM PAGODA,



NO. 34.—CARVED WOODEN FIGURES AT THE UZINA OR SOUTH PAGODA, MOULMEIN, REPRESENTING THE FOUR VISIONS OF BUDDHA MODERN.



No. 35.—INTERIOR OF A SHRINE OR TAZAUNG, UZINA PAGODA, MOULMEIN.



No. 36.—NORTH ENTRANCE OF THE FARM CAVE, 10 MILES EAST OF MOULMEIN.



No. 37.—SOUTH ENTRANCE OF THE FARM CAVE, MOULMEIN DISTRICT.



No. 38.—VIEW OF KAWGUN CAVE FROM BELOW, 28 MILES FROM MOULMEIN.



No. 39.—ENTRANCE OF KAWGUN CAVE, MOULMEIN DISTRICT.



No. 40.—RUINED PAGODA AT ENTRANCE OF KAWGUN CAVE, MOULMEIN DISTRICT.





No. 41.—IMAGES IN KAWGUN CAVE, MOULMEIN DISTRICT.



No. 42.—COLLECTION OF IMAGES FROM THE KAWGUN OAVE AND ELSEWHERE, IN THE POSSESSION OF MAJOR R. C. TEMPLE.

